

**The East Asian *Métis* in Francophone Literatures of the South Pacific, Indian
Ocean, and North America**

by

Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Romance Languages and Literatures: French)
in the University of Michigan
2017

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Jarrod L. Hayes, Chair
Professor Frieda Ekotto
Assistant Professor Christopher L. Hill
Professor Peggy S. McCracken

Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland
bireland@umich.edu
ORCID iD: 0000-0001-9952-5306

© Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland 2017

DEDICATION

To Mom and Dad

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to my dissertation chair and advisor, Dr. Jarrod Hayes, for his tireless dedication and support throughout the entire stages of this dissertation and my graduate career. My gratitude is extended in addition to Dr. Peggy McCracken, my first advisor at Michigan, who has selflessly dedicated her time, knowledge, and passions to inspire. I would like to thank Dr. Frieda Ekotto, who has served as an exceptional dissertation and preliminary examination committee member. As the final member of my committee, Dr. Christopher Hill has played an invaluable role in this dissertation's fruition, and my gratitude goes to him for his deft Asianist readings. Although not formally part of my dissertation committee, Dr. Lawrence Kritzman has played an enormous part of my academic and professional growth. I am immensely indebted to his inspiring mentorship, support, and wise words of wisdom on teaching and publishing. To think it all started from a serendipitous encounter at an Italian restaurant after a rainy-evening Roland Barthes conference in Wales makes our friendship even more immensely special to me.

In addition to my committee, I thank Dr. Olga Gallego-Smith who has been a source of infinite amounts of inspiration and support during my career at Michigan, for which I am grateful. It was a sincere joy to have been your student during our methods seminar many years ago, and I look forward to the years of friendship ahead. I am also

grateful to Dr. Yannick Viers and Prof. Stephanie Goetz for their love, support, and guidance and for being truly exemplary coordinators, along with Prof. Lorrel Sullivan whose gifts for stellar coordinating and teaching were contagious. The family-like atmosphere that you all have cultivated in RLL will forever remain with me.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my former professors, fellow colleagues, and engaging interlocutors in the United States, France, Japan, and the South Pacific who have played a monumental role in my educational formation. In particular, for their insights and hospitable collegiality throughout the various junctures of my academic career, I thank Paula Rabalais, Patrick Benoit, Barbara Alvarez, Ruby Tapia, Paul Anderson, George Hoffmann, Michèle Hannoosh, Anton Shammass, Sandrine Schirmacher, Maryline Hartman, Matthieu Dupas, Lori McMann, Ayeza Siddiqi, Jennifer Gordon, Bethany Kreps, María Dorantes, Lauren Wester-Murphy, Victoriano Garre León, Fanny Oudin, Adeleine Lionetto-Hesters, Myriam Roman, Augustin Bocco, Emily Pace, David Pettersen, Caroline Fache, and the late Robert Whitton. My gratitude goes to Marie Odile Germain of the Manuscripts Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for her assistance, as well as former University of Michigan RLL librarian Jennifer Bonnet for her invaluable assistance in acquiring the rare texts presented within this dissertation.

My thanks to Joséphine, Pascal, and Adrien Lemaître for their assistance during my research sojourn in Nouméa, New Caledonia. I must acknowledge here Régis Vendégou, as well as the entirety of the New Caledonian government for their support

of this dissertation project, as well as Marie-José Michel, whose tireless assistance, friendship, and kindheartedness has touched me. Without Marie-José's behind-the-scenes presence, my research in New Caledonia would still be in the starting stages; I am forever grateful to her, Robert Michel, and for the Amicale Japonaise for their generosity, support, and insights. I also would like to offer my heartfelt thanks to Dany Dalmayrac, whose works I have the pleasure analyzing in chapter three, for his hospitality in Nouméa. Truly, our friendship is one that was destined *entre frères métis*; and I will forever cherish our bond, especially when it involves late-night conversations in the Poya *brousse* with our friends, deer meat, and road trips.

A sincere thanks to Eileen and Ron Weiser, whose generosity and support have touched me in profound ways. A special mention to my dear friend and brother Danny Weiser, who I have seen grow after surmounting myriad challenges into such a fine, kind-hearted young man conversant in Japanese and French. Our innumerable sessions in the MLB have made for wonderful memories. In addition, I thank Eric He, Wen Huang, and Megan He for their familial warmth, friendship, and generosity during my last year at Michigan. What a wonderful opportunity it was to become friends with the Weiser and He-Huang families through the Ann Arbor's Community Resource program.

My gratitude additionally goes to my former students in the University of Michigan's Elementary Language Program and Literature sequence for their infectious enthusiasm and energy, to those in my graduate cohort, to my colleagues at the 2015

Dartmouth Institute, and to my dear friends for their unwavering support. Although it would be nearly impossible to list those life-long friends, I would like to thank the following in particular, following no particular order the names that have not been mentioned yet: Matthew Borowitz, Ian Quackenbos, Ameya Hanumante, Alina Kameniuk, Eric Paimbouc, Marie-Noël Paimbouc, Marie-Armelle Dalmayrac, Naveen Kakaraparthi, Hannah Qin, Tina Yu, Bruno Jean-François, Patrick Domico, Priscilla Charrat Nelson, Amanda Trau, Mo Zhang, Xun Yuan, Helena Skorovsky, Abigail Celis, Suzy Ogawa, Mike Ogawa, Miho Ogawa, Nolan Boyd, Emily Gibbons, Marc Belloni, Christophe Donias, Céline Uguen, Bernard Cozien, Juan Alegre, Wade Morgan, Georgy Khabarovskiy, Chrissy Rujiraorchai, Nisa Nualpenyai, Pauline Schnoebelen, Paul Parachini, Annabel and Frances Luescher, Anne Dietterich, Michelle Nuberon, Nawael Khelil, Valérie Herbunot, Julie Nomas, Brad Cooney, André Lebeau, Alex Faby, Joseph Sills, Shashank Suresh, Karen Soos, Reyna Gonzáles, Francia Rugamas, Alison Owl Banka, Mike and Sharon Banka, and all my dear friends *calédoniens* and *en brousse*.

Finally, my sentiments of gratitude go to family who have supported me since my first steps: To Jen, Sean, and my rocket-scientist nephew Sean Grace. The prayer support from Jen, Sean, and Seanie have been transformational in more ways that I can begin to articulate. I am immensely grateful for their presence in my life. My thanks to Colleen, Patricia, Katie, Elma, and the late Alex LeDoux; to Katherine Ireland Klick and the late Linda Ireland; to Mutti, for her grandmotherly affection; and to my family in Japan, including Yasumoto-no-Obasan, Kimio Obasan, Kazuto Ojisan, Toyono-no-Obasan, Kazumi Obasan; to Mieko Obasan, Kyoji Ojisan, Tomoki-kun, Naomi-chan,

Miha-chan; to Oji-chan and the late Oba-chan, my beloved grandparents who have watched me grow on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. My utmost gratitude goes to my mother Takako and my father Edward who have been my never-ending sources of inspiration, happiness, strength, and love; they are the self-sacrificing, humble heroes; supporters; and my best friends to whom I owe everything and beyond. It is with all the love from my heart that I dedicate my work to you both, and I am forever grateful for your support and love.

Finally, I dedicate my gratitude to my God whose grace and love have blessed me with the parents, family, friends, and colleagues whom I have today. The pages in this dissertation and the accomplishments that were achieved during my graduate career are products that I attribute not to my own actions but most solely to the grace, love, and inspirations that come from Him. A.M.D.G.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER	
I. <i>Métissages</i> and Francophone East Asia: Reconsidering the Trans-Oceanic French Empire.....	1
II. Savoring the Francophone Asia Pacific: <i>Métissage</i> and Foodways in Ook Chung's <i>Kimchi</i> and Jimmy Ly's <i>Bonbon sœur et pai coco</i>	68
III. Francophone Japanese New Caledonians: Forgotten Histories of Incarceration and Nippo-Kanak <i>Métissages</i>	108
IV. The Indian Ocean and French Empire: Racialization, Animality, and <i>Métissage</i> in Daniel Honoré's <i>Ma Chine-nation</i>	186
CONCLUSION.....	227
WORKS CITED.....	232

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

Figure 1: Monument dedicated to the crew of the I-17.	120
Figure 2: Japanese map of Nouméa, New Caledonia, marking strategic points.	120
Figure 3: Takei Thiozo	125
Figure 4: Rose Mossé (Higashi)	131
Figure 5: Marie Anne Wamytan	132
Figure 6: Nakamura Otojiro's Japanese artwork	133
Figure 7: Table of Japanese immigration	133
Figure 8: Petition sent to French Empire via Minister of Foreign Affairs	138
Figure 9: Letters written by Morioka Thiozo	140
Figure 10: Yokoyama Tomiki	142
Figure 11: Adrien Deramane and Ginette Honda N'Gadiman	150
Figure 12: Shelter built by Japanese prisoners at Camp Woolenook	176
Figure 13: Japanese prisoners eating at Camp Woolenook	176
Figure 14: Camp Loveday	177
Figure 15: Arrival of Japanese prisoners-of-war	177
Figure 16: Japanese's relinquishing of personal belongings	178
Figure 17: Japanese architecture at Camp Loveday	178
Figure 18: Japanese husband and Kanak wife	179
Figure 19: Sakamoto Kaniki's letters	180
Figure 20: Sophie Nakamura	181
Figure 21: Japanese descendents	181
Figure 22: Members of the Association Amicale Japonaise	182
Figure 23: Poya, New Caledonia	183
Figure 24: Location of arrest	184
Figure 25: Road on which Dalmayrac's grandfather was transported	185

ABSTRACT

This dissertation's multi-sited historical and literary approach assesses how Asiatic cultural specificities ranging from foodways to indentured servitude frame the ways in which East Asian authors regard cross-cultural contact. In four chapters, I examine little-known literary works by East Asian *métis* writers, including Ook Chung (Korea/Japan/Canada), Dany Dalmayrac (Japan/New Caledonia), Jimmy Ly (China/Tahiti), and Daniel Honoré (China/La Réunion), who recount their multicultural identities, tribulations, and autobiographies in French. On the one hand, this analysis shows how postcolonial Franco-Asian literature has shaped the literary landscapes of the Francophone South Pacific through Japanese and Chinese writers of French. On the other, from a literary perspective, this dissertation affirms that mixed-raceness is not a methodology in itself, but rather a thematic through which authors create a methodology to analyze violence, memory, and kinship. Francophone East Asian authors of hyphenated origins offer in their novels methods to broach these thematics by placing into contiguity mixed-raceness and various cultural phenomena.

This dissertation argues that mixed-race or *métis* East Asian migrants residing in the Francophone regions of Oceania, the Indian Ocean, and the Americas gave expression to new cultures of thought and movement, forging interethnic bonds between indigenous, intra-Asian Pacific, African, and French populations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I retrace the respective East Asian diasporas of Chinese and Japanese migrants

across the Pacific Ocean before offering an analysis of their assimilation histories, as well as the ramifications that result from intra-Asian, Afro-Asian, and/or Franco-Asian interactions in these Francophone regions. I examine in addition post-Second World War Japanese migrant deportation and incarceration in New Caledonia and Australia, as well as the role mixed-race youth played in preserving a Japanese New Caledonian culture in the Francophone South Pacific.

Such a transcultural exploration articulates a larger continuity of postcolonial representations of youth and mixed-raceness bridging Europe, Africa, and Asia with the Mascarene Islands. This dissertation's interdisciplinary approach, dialoguing with work from Postcolonial Francophone Studies, Affect Studies, Mixed Race Studies, and Asian American Studies, understands *métissage* less as an ethno-racial phenomenon than as a trans-oceanic interconnectedness built on epistemic and affective kinships. Coupling a largely sociological application of the term *métissage* with one that is more theoretical (i.e., regarding *métissage* as cross-cultural kinship structures), I suggest that *métissage* can inform how Francophone East Asian authors regard trans-oceanic interactions as elements of consumption, internalization, and memory.

Chapter I:
***Métissages* and Francophone East Asia: Reconsidering the Trans-Oceanic French Empire**

Tertium Quid neither one thing nor the other.

— Theresa Hak Kyung Cha (20)

*[L]e bilinguisme colonial n'est ni une diglossie, [...] ni
une simple richesse polyglotte; [...] c'est un drame linguistique.*

— Albert Memmi (145)

I. Introduction

Although literature in French from Southeast Asia is relatively little-known today, it is nonetheless more familiar than its counterparts from the nearby Oceanic region. On a larger global scale, French-language literature offering various perspectives into Asian culture within Oceania (New Caledonia, Tahiti); the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius, La Réunion); and North America (Québec, Montréal) remains critically underexplored. This dissertation will thus consider Francophone literatures of the South Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and Canada by centering on Japanese, Korean, and Chinese writers' cultural experiences within these three regions. The resulting contacts between these cultures have engendered both biological and cultural mixings that are known in Francophone Studies as *métissage*. The histories of France's colonial presence

in these places have witnessed the migrations of Asian subjects across Oceania, the Mascarene Islands, and North America whose transcultural contacts and *métissages* give rise to new identities and communities, such as Francophone *Hakka* or New Caledonian *Nikkei*.

This dissertation affirms that mixed-raceness is not a methodology in itself, but rather a thematic through which authors create a methodology to analyze violence, memory, and kinship. In their novels Francophone East Asian authors of hyphenated origins offer methods to broach these thematics by placing into contiguity mixed-raceness and various cultural phenomena. For example, Francophone Sino-Polynesian Jimmy Ly's novel *Bonbon sœur et pai coco* (1997) treats questions of identity and mixed-raceness in conjunction with alimentary consumption. To cite another example, Japanese New Caledonian novelist Dany Dalmayrac focuses on the trauma experienced by a mixed-race Japanese subject in *Les sentiers de l'espoir* (2003) as her father is subjected to the trials of migrant labor. Hence, the Asiatic cultural specificities elaborated in these works, ranging from foodways to indentured servitude, frame the ways in which these East Asian authors regard cultural contact. Such cultural phenomena relating to migration and multi-ethnic identity are important within the larger field of Francophone Studies in these four regions, as they underline the colonial contexts and mediations from which they emerge. Although Francophone Studies engages the same intellectual pursuits as Postcolonial Studies, the texts examined in this dissertation present themes that challenge readers to rethink migratory movements and

cultural exchange as following less the postcolonial lines between ex-colonies and ex-colonizers than new paths of cross-cultural mixing and dialogues.

As a critical term gaining ground in Francophone and Postcolonial Studies over two decades ago, *métissage* has been examined by literary and anthropological scholars interested in the Caribbean, the Mascarene Islands, and Africa. Literally, *métissage* refers to racial mixing through sexual reproduction; more figuratively, however, Édouard Glissant defines *métissage* in *Le discours antillais* (1982) as a *tissage* or poetics interweaving cultural relations to promote diversity and inclusivity. Glissant situates *métissage* and similar notions entailing cross-cultural contact within a colonial Caribbean setting to convey Caribbean identity as one in constant transformation. Developing Glissant's articulations on *métissage*, in *Autobiographical Voices* (1989) Françoise Lionnet posits that the notion suggests a weaving of voices linking cultural and reading practices to the construction of postcolonial identity. Lionnet's influential work on *métissage* situates itself within Indo-Oceanic Studies and has been applied to postcolonial women's writing more generally. Acknowledging Glissant's and Lionnet's applications of *métissage*, this dissertation will expand on their definitions to relate *métissage* with representations of trauma, consanguinity, and kinship. In so doing, this dissertation contributes to Francophone Studies by offering windows into colonial, ethno-racial relations within the Asian Pacific, Indo-Oceanic, and Canadian regions to articulate alternative ways to viewing *métissage* as simply an ethno-racial or cultural phenomenon.

Glissant and Lionnet treat two geographically separate but nevertheless interconnected ex-colonized regions, and their articulations of *métissage* allow for a reconsideration of the term *francophonie* as it is applied to literature and cultural theory. Numerous are the French language writers, including Vietnamese novelist Anna Moï, Chinese filmmaker and author Dai Sijie, and Moroccan poet Tahar Ben Jelloun, who reject the term “Francophone” for its postcolonial connotations and have instead favored the notion of *littérature-monde en français* or “world literature in French.” In an article published in *Le Monde* in 2007, Michel Le Bris and Jean Rouaud condemn the political institution of *francophonie* and its seemingly exclusionary, Metro-centric nature, with which over forty French-language authors have taken issue. If French and Francophone Studies are increasingly challenged by a decentralization stemming from *littérature-monde*, it is necessary to examine the ways in which marginalized French-speaking regions produce emerging histories and other claims to legitimacy. Focusing on Indo-Oceanic literature, for instance, one could indirectly broach African Studies; likewise, examining Québec via Franco-Vietnamese Studies could allow one to articulate new perspectives within French Canadian Studies. It is not this dissertation’s intent to suggest that *littérature-monde en français* undercuts the socio-political stakes deriving from French or Francophone Studies. Rather, this study’s corpus points to the extent to which French-language East Asian mixed-raced literatures within the South Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and North America create a shared space wherein cross-cultural contacts and mixings could become seen as figurative *métissages*. More specifically, this project will build on accepted figurative discourses of *métissage* to

propose that the liminal status of multiethnic subjects allows them to engage, through mobilized rhetorical practices, both biological and epistemic kinships.

These forms of kinship shared among indigenous and colonizing peoples, often articulated in literary passages treating cross-ethnic violences, allow various mixed-race subjects to rewrite their marginalized positions as *entre-deux*. Various works by French-language Asian writers exhibit this form of liberating writing, which incorporates a tapestry of indigenous and non-indigenous perspectives. Many of these Francophone Asian authors' narratives, as seen in the works of Pham Van Ky, Cung Gui Nguyên, and Aki Shimazaki, describe the effects of colonialism and/or the confrontation between Asian and Occidental cultures. These rhetorical practices, taking into account native and non-native narratives, are similar to those found in the literatures of non-Asian Francophone writers like Chantal Spitz and Axel Gauvin. Vehemently opposed to French colonialism, Spitz and Gauvin have juxtaposed indigenous and colonial perspectives in their most recognized works. For instance, Spitz details the extent to which French threatens indigenous Tahitian cosmogony with nuclear technology in *L'île des rêves écrasés* (1991), whereas in *Faims d'enfance* (1987) Gauvin valorizes creole culture in La Réunion by associating the Metropole with inedible cuisine and political demagoguery.

Yet, what collectively distinguishes works by Francophone Asian *métis* (and non-*métis*) writers from other paradigmatic Francophone writers, including Spitz and Gauvin, is the Asiatic cultural specificities that Asian writers weave into their narratives

with themes of colonialism, alterity, and/or language politics. These specificities range from novelistic characters' relationships with Confucianism, Buddhism, Chinatowns, and/or traditional Asian foods and folklore—aspects absent in non-Asiatic Francophone literature. Nevertheless, only the works of a few *métisse* Asian writers, including Kim Lefèvre, Kikou Yamata, and Bach Mai, foreground *métissage* as a primary theme. Asian writers broaden discussions of *métissage* within Francophone Studies by sustaining a continued literary effort to structure *métissage* as a poetics underwriting a shared inclusivity that integrates all people—*métis* or not—into what Maryse Condé has called a “pluriculturalisme [...] que certains écrivains ont déjà accepté [...] dans leurs textes” (217). From Lefèvre's *Métisse blanche* (1989) to Mai's *D'ivoire et d'opium* (1985), Francophone Asian writers have sought to associate *métissage* with liberationist politics and cross-ethnic unifications.

The works of the East Asian *métis* writers that this dissertation examines, although situated in different trans-Pacific regions, thematically play to the narratives found in Postcolonial trans-Atlantic literary works from the Caribbean to North Africa. In this regard, East Asian *métis* writers use *métissage* as means to articulate their identitary differences from the mono-racial Other, and such descriptions of *métissage* are always inflected by an Asian cultural specificity. Rather than orienting narratives toward the colonial experience in former colonized French regions, such as Indochina, the Antilles, or North Africa, French-language *métis* writers of East Asian origin couple their mixed-race visions and (micro)traumas with cultural allusions to China, Korea, and Japan—nations with no

formal colonial ties to France.¹ Yet, their works thematically broach the same representations of colonial-inspired violence as in Francophone trans-Atlantic literature without ever alluding to the trans-Atlantic.

Literary works centering on *métissage* from the Francophone Caribbean and Africa, areas privileged in terms of readership within Francophone Studies, allude to specific geo-cultural specificities to Africa and the Caribbean to articulate themes of violence even if the narratives promote a global framework outside of these two geocultural regions. The thematics of sexuality and *métissage* are in addition far more developed in Francophone trans-Atlantic texts, whereas East Asian *métis* texts, with the exception of Ook Chung's works, are less concerned with sexuality than they are with the affective but non-sexualized bonds with other Asian or minority groups. Francophone Afro-Caribbean, Sub-Saharan, and Maghrebian authors like Maryse Condé, Léon-Gontran Damas, Camara Lye, and Olympe Bhêly-Quénou have to this date formed the backbone of Francophone Studies and have enriched the understanding of feminism, sexual and language politics, and cross-cultural contacts limned within Francophone trans-Atlantic literatures. French-language East Asian *métis* writers have produced texts constituting a minority field within Francophone Studies and have characteristically not had recourse to the Caribbean or Africa to structure their narratives. Rather, these East Asian *métis* writers use

¹ A major exception can be made, as seen in the works of Daniel Honoré, when Sino-Réunionnais and Sino-Mauritian writers allude to the French-colonized portions of India in their narrations.

Asia and specific Asian cultural specificities as points of reference around which they construct their narratives.

The exact sectors of Francophone Asian Studies that the I will consider are the triply marginalized areas within the field: (1) the literary and historical representations of the ethno-culturally and racially *métis* East Asiatic body; (2) the Asiatic presence in Francophone geolocalities outside of Southeast Asia, which include East Asia, the (Indo-) Pacific islands, and North American contexts; and (3) the various intra-ethnic Asian and/or indigenous peoples' tensions problematizing Asian identity. To date, *la francophonie asiatique* has typically privileged Vietnam to examine relations between France and its colonial Asiatic presence—and rightly so—following the pioneering, field-shaping works of Jack Yeager's *The Vietnamese Novel in French: A Literary Response to Colonialism* (1987) and Karl Britto's *Disorientation: France, Vietnam, and the Ambivalence of Interculturality* (2004). The current status of *la francophonie asiatique* has extended transnationally from Southeast Asia to two specific geographic poles: First, Francophone Asian literature has appeared within the Hexagon where French-language Asian authors like François Cheng (China), Akira Mizubayashi (Japan), Anna Moï (Vietnam), and Linda Lê (Vietnam) publish and reside in Paris. Second, Francophone Asian literature has since crystallized in Canada, where Yeager finished his career-defining Franco-Vietnamese project—namely Canada—as exemplified by the growing popularity and critical reception of writers like Ying Chen (China), Aki Shimazaki (Japan), and Kim Thúy (Vietnam).

Primary and secondary works written by both French and non-French writers offering windows into various aspects of Asia in Francophone regions are far too great to enumerate and to examine within the confines of this dissertation. Nevertheless, by focusing specifically on the presence of East Asia (i.e., China, Japan, and Korea) in former colonial regions, this dissertation analyzes the transnational and transformative relations between these regions and France. In particular, within the Oceanic context explored in chapter three, East Asia is immediately represented through colonial violence and extermination; and for many Francophone East Asian authors, such an already small East Asiatic presence in the Oceanic region is threatened by the transformative and violent forces of Westernizing cosmopolitanism and globalization. The importance that this project places on three seemingly separate yet fundamentally interconnected geographic regions lies in the similar ways in which East Asian *métis* writers describe their outlook from within and outside of these places.

This contextualization leads one to consider the Asian-related geographical scope of this dissertation in greater detail. What can a project on East Asian multi-raciality *add* to the theoretical, geopolitical, and literary discourses pervading French-language Asian Studies to date? This study envisages building on the works of Yeager and Britto, among numerous others, while expanding the geographic range and breadth of their pioneering work in Francophone Asian Studies. In so doing, this project can first make important connections between the indigenous-colonizer relations in French-controlled Indochina at the turn of the twentieth century with those transpiring concurrently in the South Pacific region. Second, Yeager's work on Vietnamese

diaspora in Québec has revealed important sociopolitical reasons for the Vietnamese's transcultural exodus. Given the political instability in Southern China at the turn of the twentieth century, one can make connections between Vietnamese diasporic movements and those of the Chinese and Japanese who migrated to the Mascarene Islands and Oceania. Tracing the continuities between South and East Asian migratory patterns offers a generative insight into how political instability and violence have (1) catalyzed a need for migration and (2) produced collective sentiments of “up-rootedness” or alterity exhibited by these Asian subjects.

With regards to the French-language Asian subjects themselves, this dissertation will consider male, East Asian *métis* writers of the French language—here affirming in passing the paucity of French language East Asian *métisse* novelists—as well as their respective (auto)fictional works in Francophone Indo-Oceanic and North American contexts. All authors treated in this study are of hyphenated origin, exhibiting varying degrees of multiracialism, multiculturalism, and delocalization. While this dissertation intends to examine these authors' works and pair their writings with appropriate literary and/or theoretical complements, the analysis will also situate each authors' works within a larger historical and political context. In this regard, a contextualization of the various migration histories of Hakka Chinese and Japanese subjects arriving in Francophone Canada, Oceania, and the Indian Ocean will be conducted while paying attention to each nations' literary histories pertaining to French-language *métis* East Asian migrants. To this end, my dissertation will shed greater light on works from largely non-canonical writers or authors unknown in current Francophone scholarship,

including Jimmy Ly and Dany Dalmayrac, and will situate these works within their proper literary and politico-historical contexts. What is perhaps most noteworthy about these East-Asian *métis* authors is their collective de-exoticization of East Asia in stark contrast to the sensualized one depicted by Pierre Loti and Roland Barthes.

In this regard, I will examine the extent to which the East Asian *métis* and collective Asiatic presence in these regions challenge and categorically disrupt the reified notion of *l'Autre* as well as the epistemological construction of an exoticized, Orientalist Asia. Framing this approach in context with the French Indo-Pacific, this dissertation will rely on accepted theoretical frameworks typically found and applied within Asian American/Pacific Islander Studies that expose the literary and diasporic phenomena of what my dissertation will deem a new, emerging “Francophone Asian Indo-Pacific Studies.” Writers within this field deploy strategic, de-exoticizing, methodological usages of East Asia within their literary and historical accounts to demonstrate the extent to which East Asia serves as both a geo-local conduit and an epistemology disrupting Orientalizing and exoticizing structures of power between the Metropole and Asia. Otherwise put, because East Asia was never a colonized region by the Metropole, it serves as a key, one degree removed presence in mediating the decolonial experience between the (post)colonized and French colonizer.

East Asia seemingly becomes associated in the Francophone context with mediation between indigenous and colonialist powers in the Asia Pacific Indo-Oceanic area (and to a significantly lesser degree in Canada). In contrast, East Asia seen from a

French perspective via French canonical literatures and artwork, including those by Loti, Claudel, Barthes, and Monet, becomes an object of scopophilia. Yet, what makes this project centering on East Asia generative is the theoretical richness of proposing a new model of *métissage*. This critical reappraisal of *métissage* takes into account discourses on kinship while building on those paradigmatic theories of *créolisation* by Glissant and Lionnet. Furthermore, such a framework can also be enriched by more recent theoretical articulations on Asia Pacific relations and kinship networks stemming from English-language Asian Studies.

Notably, Asian Studies has seen the birth and rise of Asian American Studies and its fusion with Pacific Islander Studies to create a trending hybrid domain of Asian/Pacific Islander Studies within North American academia. This dissertation proposes to build the new terrain of Francophone Asian Indo-Pacific Studies while creating substantial bridges to other fields of critical inquiry, including its English-speaking relative Asian American/Pacific Islander Studies, as well as Francophone Studies, Postcolonial Diaspora studies, and Comparative Race Studies. This interdisciplinary dissertation thus accomplishes a reshaping of the field of Francophone Studies to draw attention to neglected Asian diasporic movements and mediations within French-language transpacific, Indo-Oceanic regions, and Canada. In what follows, readers will find the key meditations that this project proposes in four major chapters.

II. Theoretical Terminologies: From *Créolisation* to Trans-Oceanic *Métissages*

Following the noteworthy publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Glissant's *Le discours antillais* (1981) first articulates a theory of lateral relations of cross-contacts built on difference rather than diversity. Glissant's theoretical model in *Le discours antillais* breaks from the widely accepted model at the time that regarded identity as *enracinée*. Glissant writes: "Racines sous-marines: c'est-à-dire dérivées, non implantées d'un seul mat dans un seul limon" (*Le discours antillais* 134). Glissant situates the latitudinal model of cross-cultural relations within the Francophone Caribbean region whereby different cultures and identities therein—reified as branches—unstably intertwine and iteratively generate agencies and claims of legitimacy. This overall production, which Glissant deems *Antillanité*, breaks from the associations of *Négritude*, a literary, sociopolitical, and ideological movement spearheaded by Aimé Césaire, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and Léon Damas, to promote a unified African racial identity against French colonialism. Glissant advances *Antillanité* to dissociate itself from the transitory *Négritude* movement. In so doing, he aims to situate a cross-cultural dynamic geographically-specific to Caribbean literary aesthetics and socioculture.

The term *Antillanité* gives rise to similar corollaries within the field of Francophone Postcolonial Studies, extending into the term *créolisation* with the publication of Glissant's *Poétique de la Relation* in 1990. In effect, *créolisation* ejects

itself from a specifically Caribbean context and, as Anjali Prabhu and Ato Quayson affirm, functions as “a dynamic process in which difference continues to function and proliferate as a constitutive reality as a basis for thought and action” (227). Glissant stresses the procedural, generative nature of *créolisation* that extends beyond the phenomenon of *métissage*:

La créolisation est non seulement une rencontre, un choc, un métissage, mais une dimension inédite qui permet à chacun d’être là et ailleurs, enraciné et ouvert, perdu dans la montagne et libre sous la mer, en accord et en errance. Si nous posons le métissage comme en général une rencontre et une synthèse entre deux différences, la créolisation nous apparaît comme le métissage sans limites, dont les éléments sont démultipliés, les résultants imprévisibles. (*Poétique de la Relation* 46)

The procedural nature of *créolisation* is a form of *métissage* grounded in cross-cultural differences but moves beyond the initial “rencontre” or “choc” that defines the phenomenon of *métissage*. In *Introduction à une Poétique du Divers* (1996), Glissant subsequently associates *créolisation* as a rhizome whereby identity formation becomes derived from a horizontal, cross-cultural, and egalitarian relationship between zones of contact metaphorized as roots (“racine[s] [...] à la rencontre d’autres racines” [*Poétique de la Relation* 23]). In this regard, Glissant advances:

À l’identité-racine-unique qui était l’orgueil, la beauté, la somptuosité, mais aussi le mortuaire des cultures ataviques, nous tendons à substituer, non pas la non-identité, ni l’*identité-comme-ça*, celle qu’on choisit comme on veut, mais ce que j’appelle l’*identité relation*, l’*identité rhizome*. C’est l’identité ouverte sur l’autre; [...] je peux changer en échangeant avec l’autre sans me perdre moi-même. [O]n sait qu’aujourd’hui,

les vrais conflits sont des conflits de cultures, et non des guerres de nations. (“Métissage et créolisation” 52)

Roots are, as Glissant suggests, replaced by overlapping and composite rhizomes that eclipse any set origin.

The attentive reader would recognize Glissant’s use of the term “rhizome” calling to mind Deleuze and Guattari’s work “Introduction: Rhizome” in *Mille plateaux* (1980) in which “rhizome” signifies the boundary-less branches of cross-cultural relations that produce networks and systems. Glissant’s appropriation of Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizome theory, which he calls a *poétique de la Relation*, points to three major postulates whereby (1) there exists a shared origin among people (*l’identité rhizome*); (2) identity formation is based on anti-hierarchical relations and is in constant flux, dis/re-order, and reciprocal transformation (*l’identité relation*); and (3) an aesthetical value undergirds such chaotic but productive relations (*Poétique de la Relation* 251). Within Glissant’s overarching *poétique de la Relation* lies the process of *créolisation* and its “initial” manifestation as *métissage* (“une rencontre, un choc” [*Poétique de la Relation* 46]).

Glissant’s articulations move away from a single-root theory, namely one that frames identity formation as monolithic and fixed, subtly evoking the premise behind *Négritude*, to one that extols the multiplicities of origins. This trajectory from *Antillanité* to *rhizome* suggests that—despite one of the most foundational terms within Glissant’s theoretical discourse, *créolisation*—there is a stagnation in applications and

uses of *créolisation* and *métissage*. It is worth noting, as Glissant does, that the notions of *créolisation* and *métissage* inherently resist theoretical applicability because the phenomena of *créolisation* and *métissage* seemingly self-destruct: “Observons qu’il y a métissage là où auparavant s’opposaient des catégories, qui distinguaient leur essence. Plus métissage se réalise, plus la notion s’en efface” (*Poétique de la Relation* 106). The initial “choc” between two differing contact zones, which Glissant has demonstrated to be *métissage*, culminates in *créolisation*. Yet, once these zones engage one another in the praxis of *créolisation*, the initial phenomenological and epistemological “meeting” or *métissage* between these differing contact spheres becomes erased (“s’en efface”), thereby destabilizing the resulting product of *créolisation*. In this logic system derived from Glissant’s formulations on *métissage* and *créolisation* as potentially self-erasing, one could ascertain the unstable nature of *créolisation* and its relationship to entropy and decay. Nevertheless, Glissant can justify its unstable nature by deeming it a *poétique de la Relation* because “une des façons du poétique, [c’est] rejoignant l’ancienne ambition de la poésie de se constituer en connaissance [une science du Chaos]” (*Poétique de la Relation* 152).

Lionnet moves away from Glissant’s understanding of *métissage* and *créolisation* and appropriates his Caribbean theorizations on *métissage* in *Le discours antillais* to extend its meaning. She particularly situates *métissage* within contexts pertaining to postcolonial feminist and women’s resistance writing. Lionnet’s revaluation of the term *métissage* has illuminated the histories of La Réunion and Mauritius and has provided a critical avenue through which various feminist voices can

be heard. Lionnet equates Glissant's rhizomatic *créolisation*, the theoretical concept that regards racialized identities as erratically fluid and in flux, with an aesthetic and conciliatory process:

Métissage is a form of *bricolage* in the sense used by Claude Lévi-Strauss, but as an aesthetic concept it encompasses far more: it brings together biology and history, anthropology and philosophy, linguistics and literature. Above all, it is a reading practice that allows [one] to bring out the interreferential nature of a particular set of texts. [...] [It is] a concept of solidarity which demystifies all essentialist glorifications of unitary origins, be they racial, sexual, geographic, or cultural. (*Autobiographical Voices* 8)

Lionnet's appropriation of Glissant's *créolisation* and Bhabha's hybridity de-racializes *métissage* by emptying from it associations with race and hierarchies and equating *métissage* with an aesthetic, utopian, and interdisciplinary concept. Lionnet suggests that this articulation of *métissage* provides a needed outlet for feminist perspectives.

Lionnet continues to articulate her appropriation of the term *métissage* as an equally feminist phenomenology, in particular as it centers on Francophone island women's writing. Her illuminations into *métissage* shed light on female writing, which include works by French Caribbean writer Maryse Condé and Mauritian writer Marie-Thérèse Humbert:

[The woman writer] has no specifically female tradition to build on but, in order to survive, must quilt together from the pieces of her legacy a viable whole—viable in that it embraces a multiplicity of elements that can allow the writer to assume the past (the literary tradition) as past and therefore to reintegrate into a radically different present; making it the

implicit or explicit intertext of her text, adding that past to the texture of her voice so she may begin to transform and reinterpret history. This problematic would point to a notion of the female text as *mé-tissage*, that is, the weaving of different strands of raw material and threads of various colors into one piece of fabric, female textuality as *métis-sage*. It would emancipate the writer from any internal or external coercion to use any one literary style or for, freeing her to enlarge, redefine, or explode the canons of our discursive practices. (*Autobiographical Voices* 270)

Lionnet's usage of *métissage* compels the postcolonial female writer to produce her text in such a way that the aesthetic creativity and license of her text—namely “the weaving of different strands of raw material [...] into one fabric”—parallel her multifaceted identity as writer and female (*Autobiographical Voices* 270). As Lionnet suggests, such an author's text (or *mé-tissage*) valorizes the aesthetic act of weaving to produce a unique literature of the female voice (*métis-sage*) both transcendental and emancipatory in nature. Lionnet's textual praxis of *métissage* weaves differing languages and indigenous traditions of the “oppressed” culture *alongside* and *within* the colonial language.

Lionnet's stance on *métissage* opens up other critical renderings of the term by postcolonial scholars who often ground the usage of *métissage* in a historico-social and linguistic context associated with a specific geolocality. As an example for Françoise Vergès, her analyses of *métissage* lie in the context of La Réunion and its colonial past. Lionnet, however, regards *métissage* as a reading process in both theoretical and literal senses, particularly as they touch upon autobiographical works. The author's

engagement with plurilingualism and pluriculturalism within the textual realm grants writers (and their author-narrators) an agency. Such engagement allows writers to eject themselves from racial dichotomies and oppressive power structures. For numerous postcolonial Francophone authors, self-expression through the colonizer's language becomes a means to counteract the colonial associations of the French language.

The reading and writing processes that are involved in “bringing out” the marginalized voice from within the postcolonial Francophone text subject the reader to a hybridizing process: readers must negotiate the meanings between two communicative systems, namely between the expressive mode of the marginalized writer (who represents his or her culture via the appropriated colonizer's language) and the metropolitan French language. In essence, postcolonial Francophone authors like Abdelfattah Kilto, Tahar Ben Jelloun, and Asia Djebar “hijack” the French language to render it culturo-linguistically layered or *métissée*. Nevertheless, this linguistic appropriation of the colonizer's language comes at price. As Samia Mehrez explains,

[t]hese postcolonial texts [are defined by] the culturo-linguistic layering which exists within them, [...] space[s] ‘in between’ [that] seek to decolonize themselves from two oppressors at once, namely the western ex-colonizer who naively boasts of their existence and ultimately recuperates them and the ‘traditional,’ ‘national’ cultures which shortsightedly deny their importance and consequently marginalize them. (121)

Mehrez underlines an important phenomenon occurring within this hybrid textual space, wherein a textual phenomenon of “culturo-linguistic layering” begets the blending of cultural and linguistic signifiers. As previously affirmed, the initial *métissage* between

cultural contact spheres that Glissant suggests destabilizes the overall process of *créolisation* that is itself a by-product of *métissage*. In Glissant's logic, the destabilized manner in which *métissage* and *créolisation* position themselves askew from a stable process parallels the position in which the marginalized postcolonial Francophone writers find themselves socially. The marginalized writers who produce multilayered texts find themselves in an unstable position between their own traditional culture and that of the French oppressor.

Although this practice of “culturo-linguistic layering” regards the use of authors' indigenous language(s) subsumed under the colonizer's language as emancipatory, this practice of blending within the text inevitably problematizes *both* the colonizer's and colonized's identity. Bhabha regards hybrid appropriation of the colonized Other's language as an unsettling mockery of the colonizing languages. He advances in this regard:

The display of hybridity—its peculiar “replication”—terrorizes authority with the *ruse* of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery. Such a reading of hybridity of colonial authority profoundly unsettles the demand that figures at the centre of the originary myth of colonial authority. (*Location* 115)

Bhabha's articulations of the appropriative nature of hybridity shed light on the writing practices to which Lionnet alludes in her definition of *métissage* as a theory of reading and writing. Namely, the postcolonial Francophone writer appropriates the language of the colonizing Other but can only regard the colonizing language as a copy of a putative

original colonizing language and cultural system. The colonizer's agency thus becomes problematized the moment that it becomes in differential contact with the colonized.

In effect, both the colonizer and colonized undergo a shared problematizing of identity once the colonized and by extension the Francophone author engage in Bhabha's notion of mimicry. Through mimicry, colonized subjects exhibit "spectacular resistance" that subverts the colonizer's authoritarian and hegemonic identity (*Location* 121). Replicating the colonizing Other, which can also include mimicking the use of the French language in postcolonial literature, is a secretive process or, in Lacan's words, "a [practiced] camouflage" (99). Mimicry can thus be understood as a transformative self-othering for the colonized and the postcolonial author that echoes a *métis* writers' own invisibilities and recourse to plurilingual resistance writing. Perhaps it is for this reason, as Sara Ahmed aptly points out, that

mixed-raceness makes uncertain at the level of the subject's self-identification what may appear certain in the formation of racial identity. Mixed-raceness brings to the forefront the crisis of identity which is concealed by the invisibility of the mark of passing. [...] In miming the identity of an-other, identity itself become an object of exchange that resists the realms of the proper and property. (96-98)

Ahmed's observation leads one to ascertain the ways in which plurilingualism informs critical discourse on mixed-raceness. Using mimicking language and fusing French with the registers of the colonized's own language to produce resistance writing requires an inevitable disruption of indigenous identity. As postcolonial writers mimetically use the colonizer's language, they assert their agency as a marginalized writer via the Other's

language—a language that is used specifically as an object of potential mockery, performativity, and noteworthy resistance. In this way, marginalized agency (re)claimed through the colonizing Other’s language is inherently problematized and disruptive.

It is nevertheless noteworthy that the product of a transcultural/linguistic contact based on mimesis is necessary to create the dialogic and rhizomatic qualities characterizing hybridity, *métissage*, and *créolisation*. Lionnet and postcolonial critic Shu-mei Shih have offered a viable alternative to the unstable nature of hybridity. Both critics contend that the rhizomatic and entropic renderings of cross-cultural relations are characterized by a center against which minority voices are heard. That is, binaries are never dismantled even within a rhizome model of multiculturalism-lingualism even if the model itself is said to deconstruct the I-You transcultural relationship. In fact, the evocation of deconstructing the center to privilege the minority or subaltern periphery is advanced by Lionnet and Shih thus: “The transnational, therefore, is not bound by the binary of the local and the global and can occur in national, local, or global spaces across different and multiple spatialities and temporalities” (6). For Lionnet and Shih, lateral sociocultural engagements transcend the limits imposed by hierarchies.

Distancing themselves from Glissant’s rhizomatic model of *métissage* and *créolisation*, Lionnet and Shih suggest that a horizontal rather than top-down understanding of pluricultural-lingual relations would decenter and de-hegemonize the boundaries between colonizer and colonized (or dominant/“major” cultures and subaltern/“minor” societies). Lionnet and Shih continue:

What is lacking in the binary model of above-and-below, the utopic and the dystopic, and the global and the local is an awareness and recognition of the creative interventions that networks of minoritized cultures produce within and across national boundaries. [...] Common conceptions of resistance to the major reify the boundaries of communities by placing the focus on action and reaction, excluding other forms of participation in the transnational that may be more proactive and more creative even while economically disadvantaged. (7)

Lionnet and Shih call their reconception of lateral, cross-cultural relations “minor transnationalism.” Specifically, “minor transnationalism” refers to the cross-cultural relationships that “active[ly] participat[e] in the production of local knowledges and global cultures” between larger and smaller geolocalities, as well as within the “nonspaces of boundaries and borders” (Lionnet and Shih 19, 21). Lionnet and Shih’s model of minor transnationalism can allow one to recognize the ways in which creative potentialities reticulate networks of minoritized cultures across societies and between global and local cultural spheres. Resistance vis-à-vis dominant cultures would, according to Lionnet and Shih, preclude creative participation within globalizing transnational spheres and would thus de-politicize, de-hegemonize, and de-binarize the essentializing boundaries between major and minor cultures.

The theory of minor transnationalism is informed by Lionnet’s former theorizations of *métissage* as an aesthetic concept and suggests a utopian, deterritorialized space that underscores the laterality of transcultural relations—evoking the lateral movements of migration—while deemphasizing the empire-oriented, ideological past of many nations. The paradox that exists in any formulation or

corollary of hybridity and discourses pertaining to migration, *métissage*, and *créolisation* is the inability for such theories to distance themselves from a reproduction of the very power structures and institutions they oppose, which is not to affirm that Lionnet is not aware of her theoretical limitations. She justifies such limitations, noting that “[*m*]étissage is a praxis and cannot be subsumed under a fully elaborated theoretical system,” given the tendencies that postcolonial critics have exhibited as they formulate theories on the subaltern with a language evocative of Metro-centric intelligentsia (*Autobiographical Voices* 8). The paradox inherent in theorizing *métissage* lies in the inability to de-hegemonize and depoliticize transborder relationalities via decentering cross-cultural interactions. Yet, it is the unstable quality of such decentered relations and interactions that creates the generativity of *métissage* and aesthetic renderings of transcultural-linguistic syncretism.

It is not the intent of this dissertation to formulate a novel definition of *métissage* to disavow or dismantle the importance of Bhabha, Glissant, and Lionnet’s critical approaches to hybridity and transcultural/linguistic interactions—namely to suggest that there exists a “loophole” to assessing transnational relationalities without privileging one perspective over another. Rather, I would like to extend Bhabha, Glissant, and Lionnet’s illuminations on discourses pertaining to hybridity to suggest a reconception of *métissage* that detaches transcultural-linguistic relationalities from theoretical frameworks conducive to reproducing ideologies and knowledge systems. In particular, I will focus on reconsidering *métissage* through three major fields: Affect Studies, Asian American/Pacific Islander Studies, and Kinship Studies. The

interdisciplinary fusions or *métissages* between these burgeoning fields, when placed in dialogue with Francophone Studies, offer a rehabilitative means to approach notions of cross-cultural braiding. As many postcolonial scholars including Paul Gilroy, Christopher Miller, Pascale de Souza, Françoise Vergès, and Françoise Lionnet have demonstrated, understanding mixed-raceness and multi-faceted identity issues from African, Caribbean, and Indo-Oceanic discourses have yielded generative theoretical inquiry. However, I am approaching discourses on *métissage* from, notably, the Asia Pacific/Pacific Rim perspective to Asianize and Pacificize the field of Francophone Studies.

By the Asianization and Pacificization of Francophone Studies—and here, I am alluding to Arif Dirlik’s phrasing that advocates for the “Asianization of Asian Studies”—I mean to create a multi-sited approach to the question of *métissage*. By this, I give primacy to Asian and Pacific Islandic voices that have been too often subsumed under a monolithic colonial and academic French Empire (Dirlik 14). What is unique about this methodology is that it requires a reconsideration of spaces and the various colonial power structures from differing Metropoles (French, British, Dutch) propagating simultaneously within these areas. Specifically, the vast expanses of oceans that this dissertation will be “crossing”—the Pacific and Indian Ocean—have a theoretical import. The ocean becomes a multi-sited space where trans-colonial presences (that is, colonial systems operating in various countries near or within the (Indo)Oceanic region) become destabilized, given the natural potentialities inherent in oceans to destroy, upend, and create new lands. As Elizabeth DeLoughrey posits,

[t]he ocean's perpetual movement is radically decentering. [...] Focusing on a seascape rather than a landscape as a fluid space of historical production allows us to complicate the nation-state, which encodes a rigid hierarchy of race, class, gender, religion, and ethnicity for its representative subjects. (21)

The oceanic movement represents a figurative power that can be thought to destabilize ground-based power structures. However, building on DeLoughrey's formulation, one could also posit the figurative similarities between sinusoidal waves and the waves of emotions and affects experienced by those living across the oceanic spans. Glissant's notion of *la parole archipélique*, whereby words and sentences aesthetically engage with fragmentation and thus figuratively evoke islandic topography, underscores the relation between physical spaces and words. As Glissant writes, "[l]e langage de l'île promet de s'accorder avec celui du continent, la parole archipélique avec la dense prose étalée. Un chant désarticulé en roches rapides, sur la trace qui mène du conte au poème" (*Les Grands Chaos* 399). Like the physicality of land compared to that of words, the waves, eddies, and natural forces comprising the ocean are comparable to the emotiveness of affect and the various fluctuations of emotions (negative to positive) shared and felt by members across oceanic boundaries. By situating a reconsideration of *métissage* across oceans (and thus across trans-colonial presences), readers can re-question the place-based nature of East Asian diasporas into, across, and beyond these regions in relation to their individual and collective affects and epistemologies.

In this regard, rather than regarding *métissage* as the instigating "switch" that exists via a *choc* then *s'en efface*—to use Glissant's terms, one could ascertain that

métissage exists as an affect and epistemology allowing authors to create methodologies by which their works could be written and read. In this sense, *métissage* can move away from essentializing ethno-racial or biological significations and can call to mind its methodological utility. Rather than employing the term *créolisation*, which implies the chaos-inducing crosspollination of transcultural-linguistic relations, I will opt to use Lionnet's term *métissage* to the extent that it intimates more of a structured basis to broach the subjects of mixed-raceness and plurilingualism in a reader-oriented context. However, acknowledging the limitations of current discourses on *métissage* (and its more recent corollary of "minor transnationalism"), I will demonstrate the extent to which *métissage* acts as an internalized affect that creates networks based on latitudinal or longitudinal relationalities across geographic spaces. Furthermore, I will situate Lionnet and Shih's phenomenon of "minor transnationalism" in a cartographical realm of the body—internal(ized) spaces that engage the epistemologies and emotive/affective structures within bodies and minds. In so doing, rather than simply relying on a theoretical model of de-centering, latitudinal movements, I can focus on the corporeal and epistemic effects and affects that comprise *métissage*.

In this theoretical sense, *métissage* becomes defined as an interiorized, epistemological channel through which affective or emotive linkages connecting one body to a network of bodies and minds can proliferate. These channels propagate over oceans, thereby creating the ocean as a site where affective and epistemological connectivities operate. *Métissage* can thus be reconsidered less a postcolonial theory of differential transcultural/linguistic relationships than an affectual theory of

epistemological kinship connecting bodies in their corporeal, sociocultural, historico-political, and linguistic senses. This transcultural and trans-geographic rendering of *métissage* is not to essentialize major or minor/subaltern cultures into the avatars of the affects and epistemologies that they represent. Rather, this multi-sited model of *métissage* extends Glissant's and Lionnet's notions of *métissage* into a spatial realm across oceans: The emotive, affective, and epistemological channels between bodies and minds over these waters parallel the actual physical diasporic movements of migrant subjects across the (Indo)Pacific.

III. Engaging Affects: *Métissages* and Kinships

Regarding the difference between emotion and affect, Ann Cvetkovich refers to the term “affect” as “a category that encompasses [...] emotion and feeling, and that includes impulses, desires, and feelings that get historically constructed in a range of ways (whether as distinct specific emotions or as a generic category often contrasted with reason)” (4). The increasingly trending domain of Affect Studies, shaped by critics like Brian Massumi, Mel Chen, and Lauren Berlant, who are also major contributors to Critical Race and Diaspora Studies, can shed a more nuanced light on the theoretical complexities associated with *métissage*. Affect is effectively shaped by sociohistorical and political factors and is an internalized force that relies on language. This force requires an “attunement,” as Kathleen Stewart suggests, to the various sociopolitical and environmental surroundings within which one finds oneself (Stewart 5). *Métissage*

has served as a theoretical foundation for Glissant and Lionnet who have regarded the term as a praxis *of* hybridity and a process *for* theoretical readings. Glissant offers a more entropic model than Lionnet's methodological one. In this regard, rather than regarding *métissage* as an inherently unstable manifestation of rhizomes (i.e., as *créolisation*), *métissage* could be regarded as an internalized, affective structure that allows bodies to bond with other bodies on epistemic and emotive levels. These structures, as I will demonstrate by using specific examples taken from the dissertation's corpus, are generated and sustained by sentiments of alterity that in turn underwrite the epistemic relationships or affective kinships binding two bodies or collectivities.

The notion of kinship itself maintains its theoretical applications within many domains of critical thought, most recently in the field of Queer Studies, in which critics like Judith Butler and Mario DeGangi have problematized the primacy of heterosexual kinship models. Other theorists like Elizabeth Povinelli and Jasbir Puar have shed light on kinship frameworks that point to genetic and reproductive components as well as those "practices and relations that fall off the genealogical grid" (Povinelli, "Notes on Gridlock" 227). In essence, any relationship that does not point to a reproductive futuricity is occluded and "thematized as irrelevant" (Povinelli, "Notes on Gridlock" 227). Puar extends Povinelli's point by suggesting that "intimacy registers affective tendencies—intensity, turbulence, chemistry, attraction, repulsion, sonic waves—betwixt and between human bodies, thus ordering and fixing these bodies along the genealogical grid" (163). Intimacy becomes the structuring affect, inevitably a

heterosexualizing one as Povinelli and Puar make clear, that keeps human relations along a genealogical grid. Namely, intimacy and its affects are gridlocked to a heterosexual, genealogical model of social relations.

The framework or grid components of these theories evoke those of *métissage*, as Lionnet has suggested, whereby pluricultural writing allows postcolonial authors (and the cultures that they represent) to use the Other's language toward emancipatory ends. While intimacy in all forms structures affect alongside such a genealogical kinship model (and by extension blood-relations spanning expanses of space and time via diasporas), other critics including Gayatri Gopinath have focused on those specific relations falling off the genealogical grid. In this regard, Gopinath proposes a new form of transnational kinship underwritten by what she calls queer intimacies or "queer diasporas" that point to the impurities, nonreproductivities, anti-heteronormativities inherent within the phenomenon of diaspora (10-11). For Gopinath, such a kinship theory foregrounding queerness is a strategic method for problematizing nationalist ideologies and racial identifications. Gopinath's theories of "queer diasporas" undo biological and reproductive connotations and promotes different forms of intimacies and affects positioning themselves outside heterocentrism. In essence, Gopinath advances a kinship theory that transcends strict genealogical confines. Such a de-biologizing notion of *métissage* could better engage with the affective and epistemological linkages that span transcultural and transnational oceanic borders, in particular as they pertain to the primary texts that this dissertation will examine.

The theoretical threads that tie together the understandings of kinships from various cultural critics, including Gopinath, Povinelli, and Puar, are the phenomena and affectivities of intimacy. Povinelli defines “intimacy” in the following manner:

Intimacy [...] has come to be characterized by a form of pronominalized interiority. As numerous people have noted, the intimate interiority is characterized by a second-order critical reflexivity, by the I that emerges in the asking of the question, What do I feel towards you? In other words, the I who asks, What do I feel toward you? How do I desire you? contours the intimate interior. Along with being a form of orientation and attachment, intimacy is the dialectic of this self-elaboration. Who am I in relation to you? (“Notes on Gridlock” 231)

From the above, one could note the introspective quality of intimacy: The epistemological engagements associated with intimacy create a relationship between oneself and the Other. These engagements that Povinelli deems “interiorit[ies]” in turn orient one emotionally toward the Other. For this affective relationship to transpire, one must undergo a process of introspection, which Povinelli calls engaging the “contours [of the] intimate interior” (“Notes on Gridlock” 231). It is the introspective, epistemological quality of emotional intimacy toward the Other that is conducive to analyzing cross-cultural relations with respect to *métissage*. As Povinelli suggests, intimacy as an affect orients one’s emotive attunements toward oneself and the Other by virtue of its “critical reflexivity” (“Notes on Gridlock” 231). The epistemic, overlapping, and free-floating nature of intimacy is reminiscent of the epistemic and rhizomatic qualities of Glissant’s *métissage* in form and function. Given the similarities in Povinelli’s notion of epistemic, affective intimacy and Glissant’s epistemic,

rhizomatic *métissage*, one could regard intimacy as a kind of *métissage* that places into contiguity multiple contact zones. This cross-cultural, affective model of intimacy and *métissage* distinguishes itself from the aesthetic, reading-oriented framework that Lionnet advocates.²

In essence, although *métissage* does denote mixed-raceness from sexual reproduction, the term becomes more theoretically comprehensive when viewed as an epistemological channel binding contact zones through affects and intimacies. This renewed transcultural definition of *métissage* thus extends Glissant's and Lionnet's notions of *métissage* from its spatial and simply aesthetic contexts to one that defines cross-cultural contacts as belonging to a structure of emotive and epistemic relationships. When conceived this way, postcolonial writers are able to engage various affective attunements pertaining to certain themes in their works—violence, delocalization, alterity, ethnocentrism—in their relationships with the Other. Salaman Rushdie, whose work is heavily alluded to by Gopinath, has argued that the epistemic engagements with one's ancestral culture inevitably create imaginary homelands. Consequently, one's emotive relationship toward the home culture is defined by an affective engagement with a simulacrum. Rushdie uses his home culture of India to advance this point:

Our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or

² Although I am suggesting that intimacy gives rise to affective and epistemic linkages between bodies, I will focus more on the affective and epistemic bonds between contact zones—and not intimacy proper—as they appear in the various works that this dissertation analyzes.

villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind. (10)

Although I do not delegitimize or discredit one's potential affective and epistemic relationships with simulacra, I do place import on the recollective nature on which such kinship bonds rely. The access to one's homeland via epistemology and the imagination across oceanic expanses, as Rushdie suggests, allows subaltern or minority migrants to legitimize their subjectivity or mixed-race/ethnicity status, which can only be brought out through their alienation—both physical and non-physical—from their ancestral homeland.

The insistence on kinship to articulate a more theoretically robust model of *métissage* allows for not only ethno-racial considerations but also considerations of language. As Jacques Derrida reminds readers, “kinship” represents the “symbolic event [of] adjoining, coupling, [and] marrying two languages” through which readers have access to their linguistic differences and transfers of differed meaning (200). What Francophone literature accomplishes by foregrounding a pluri-textuality—namely, the channeling of a subaltern voice through the language of the Metropole Other—is the ability to place its indigenous, diasporic authors within a larger sociocultural framework that transcends “and def[ies] colonial and imperialist monolingualism” (Mehrez 137). The blending of the subaltern voice within the French language creates a linguistic relationship or kinship subsumed under a colonial framework. These trans-lingual relationships are nevertheless part of a larger notion of kinship that relies on degrees of

affective intimacies between words and their significations. Such pluri-textual postcolonial literatures are spaces where contacts between two registers of language—one subaltern, the other Metro-centric—take place to produce knowledge. It is the intimacy that is created when “languages supplement one another in their intentions” that structures a “kinship of language” even within a knowledge-producing colonial framework (Benjamin 78).

As I will demonstrate, the cross-cultural channels of affective, epistemic, and linguistic kinships or *métissages* allow authors to create methodologies by which they can broach certain themes seen in mixed-race literature in French—themes that typically include alterity and delocalization. For instance, in Ook Chung’s *Kimchi* and Jimmy Ly’s *Bonbon sœur et pai coco*, the respective author-narrators channel their sentiments of otherness through their relationship to foods evocative of their motherland. For Chung and Ly, foodways are the thematic around which their narration is structured. The affective, epistemic kinships and affinities or *métissages* that the author-narrators experience are by-products of their transcultural engagements and their status as either multiethnic or multiracial subjects. Specifically for Chung, his sexualization of the maternal homeland from which he is separated bring into play registers of queerness and ethnic roots, which complicates the kind of affectivity and kinship link he engages in his narration.

Considered after Chung and Ly in chapter three, Dany Dalmayrac’s protagonists in *Les sentiers de l’espoir* are Nippo-Kanaks, namely bi-racial indigenous New

Caledonians and Japanese subjects, who are subjected to the tribulations of colonized New Caledonian society during the heat of the Second World War. For Dalmayrac, although biological kinship is important, particularly as it pertains to familial separations from the Japanese homeland and within New Caledonia, his mixed-race *métis(ses)* protagonists are faced with various forms of physical and epistemological violences brought about by the Second World War. After offering a historicization of Japanese New Caledonians at the turn of the twentieth century, along with a close-reading of Dalmayrac's work, I will proceed to the last chapter of this dissertation that treats Francophone Afro-Chinese poetry.

Reminiscent of the works of Chung, Ly, and Dalmayrac, Francophone Afro-Asian Daniel Honoré's poetic work *Ma Chine-nation* recounts the poetic subject's return to China after residing many years in La Réunion. The theme of mixed-raceness allows Honoré to articulate poetry around themes of violence, delocalization, and alterity—much in the same way that Chung, Ly, and Dalmayrac accomplish in their works. Like all other studied authors, Honoré's mixed-raceness and physical *métissages* are characteristically linked to an affective sense of belonging, namely a biological and epistemic, affective kinship with the Asian and African cultures. *Ma Chine-nation* also complicates understandings of *métissage* to the extent that it associates the term with animalization and marronage. What these Francophone authors have in common beyond their physical mixed ethnicities and races is the sense of unity that they emotively share with their ancestral land in East Asia—a sense of unity not contingent on maintaining actual biological kinships with their distant Asian roots. It is this sense

of affective, epistemic unities or intimate *métissages* that allows for a more conducive trans-oceanic theoretical model of *métissage* rather than a reductive or reified framework that relies on political and differential power structures between various contact zones.

IV. Reimagining *la francophonie*

A reconsideration of *métissage* in Francophone Studies allows readers to examine the extent to which mixed ethnic and mixed race literary subjects negotiate affects of alterity and transculturality. This engagement in turn creates physical and transphysical links or *métissages* to other world spaces. Yet, as with in any theoretical consideration within the domain of *la francophonie*, here one is faced with the inevitable problematization of the term *francophonie* itself—a formulation blending sociopolitical, historical, economic, and cultural registers that evolve from (post)colonial contexts. Beginning in the early 1990s, the notion of *francophonie* was increasingly problematized by writers and political activists who considered it to be hegemonic and evocative of the colonial tradition under which their works become subsumed.

In this regard, French-language Moroccan writer Ben Jelloun explains, “Est considéré comme Francophone l’écrivain métèque, l’écrivain pas souche, celui qui vient d’ailleurs et qui est prié de s’en tenir à son statut légèrement décalé par rapport aux écrivains français de souche” (“La cave” 117). Ben Jelloun, whose literary career began

in the 1970s and saw the production of texts blending poetics and prose, offers sociopolitical commentaries on post-independence Morocco as well as questions on oppressive marginality. The thematic of exclusion, which one sees for instance in *Harrouda* (1973) or *Moha le fou Moha le sage* (1978), unfolds against the backdrop of postcolonial Moroccan society. Ben Jelloun categorically rejects the term *francophonie*, as the rigidity and sociopolitical connotations imbedded within such a term seemingly relegate non-Hexagonal French-language authors to a minority position vis-à-vis the canon of French literature.³ In an article published in *Le Monde* in 2007, Michel Le Bris and Jean Rouaud condemn the political institution of *francophonie* and its seemingly exclusionary, Metro-centric nature with which over forty French-language authors have taken issue, including Ben Jelloun himself. Le Bris states:

[L]e centre, ce point depuis lequel était supposée rayonner une littérature franco-française, n'est plus le centre. Le centre, nous disent les prix d'automne, est désormais partout, aux quatre coins du monde. Fin de la francophonie. Et naissance d'une littérature-monde en français. (2007)

Ben Jelloun's and Le Bris's voices are only a few of a multitude of French-language "Francophone" authors who seek to cut ties with the colonialist literary genre of *francophonie*, opting instead for a genre that does away with colonial and decolonial

³ Pascal Casanova calls this canonical French literature a "world republic of letters" that defines Paris as the center around which Francophone (or non-Hexagonal French-language) literatures are situated. Referring to Raphaël Confiant, Casanova suggests that there are two "Frances" whereby the former represents the "mother of arts," while the other is the "colonizing" France (124-25). Thematically, according to Casanova, French-language works would fall into one of the two categories.

politics.⁴ If French and Francophone Studies are increasingly challenged by their de-centering by *littérature-monde* as a concept, then it is necessary to examine the ways in which marginalized French-speaking regions can produce emerging histories and other claims to legitimacy.

Given the progressive decay of *la francophonie*, a “new” form of anti-hegemonic, anti-colonial French genre has formed, spearheaded by Le Bris and over forty French-language writers of non-French or non-European nationality. This anti-colonial movement is articulated in Le Bris and Rouaud’s publication in *Le Monde* and is known as *littérature-monde*. Le Bris continues and illuminates the specific aspects that render *littérature-monde* categorically more inclusive to these French-language authors who are not of French nationality:

Littérature-monde parce que, à l’évidence multiples, diverses, sont aujourd’hui les littératures de langue françaises de par le monde, formant un vaste ensemble dont les ramifications enlacent plusieurs continents. [L]a tâche [est] de donner voix et visage à l’inconnu du monde—et à l’inconnu en nous. En sorte que le temps nous paraît venu d’une renaissance, d’un dialogue dans un vaste ensemble polyphonique, sans souci d’on ne sait quel combat pour ou contre la prééminence de telle ou telle langue ou d’un quelconque « impérialisme culturel ». Le centre relégué au milieu d’autres centres, c’est à la formation d’une constellation que nous assistons, où la langue libérée de son pacte exclusif avec la nation, libre désormais de tout pouvoir autre que ceux de la poésie et de l’imaginaire, n’aura pour frontières que celles de l’esprit.

⁴ Mireille Rosello, Jacques Godbout, Anna Moï, Dany Lafférière, and Alain Mabanckou are examples of writers who regard themselves as not affiliated with Francophone literature. See also Dutton.

From what Le Bris posits, *littérature-monde* signifies a more encompassing, anti-hierarchical literary movement that maintains ties to France. However, such ties are not defined or underwritten by political or colonial(izing) paradigms. The *littérature-monde* movement has tried to rehabilitate *la francophonie* by including anti-colonial French and non-French citizen writers of the French language under its umbrella. Le Bris's proposed corrective to *francophonie* foregrounds the poetic and imaginary potentialities inherent in a French-language work. In essence, the aesthetic qualities of such a work of *littérature-monde* undercuts the "standard" or *centre* against which all French-language works are judged.

The increasing displacement of the standard or "center" of *la francophonie* is generated by the creative forces of minority, diasporic, and/or subaltern writers of French. One could thus regard *littérature-monde* as a decolonial delinking from a colonial linguistic matrix of power that seeks to undercut and disengage from "imperial enforcement[s] and management[s]," which Walter Mignolo calls a "[r]estoration of [...] the rhetoric of modernity [...] that engage[s] in decolonial options toward global equitable futures" (189-90). In effect, *littérature-monde* is a rehabilitative option to *la francophonie* that seeks to offer French-language writers an anti-colonial forum in which to exercise self-expressivity in their respective indigenous contexts. Such a form of delinking via literature constitutes a move toward a positive, anti-hierarchical self-

expressivity, on the one hand, and a means through which marginalized Francophone writers could effectively de-subalternize their indigenous subjectivity, on the other.⁵

An example of this de-subalternization can be seen in the work of French-language Vietnamese writer of the French language and signee of the *littérature-monde* manifesto, Anna Moï. For over a decade, Moï has underscored the creative literary manifestations that French language minority authors incorporate into their works as political tools. Much like Ben Jelloun, Moï takes issue with the rigidity that the term *francophonie* imposes. She suggests, however, a new term—*francophonie sans les Français*—that allows non-Hexagonal French language writers to reclaim their minority identity in French. The addition of *sans les Français* strategically dislodges the colonial connotations associated with the Metropole. Moï explains, “Francophonie: mythe ou réalité? La question est complexe et la réponse imparfaite. Je propose celle-ci: à l’étranger, la francophonie sans les Français est non pas un mythe, mais une réalité jubilatoire, génèreuse, vivante” (63). For Moï, the French language becomes a medium through which she and other marginalized writers of French construct their own textual voices. Although Moï does not completely reject *francophonie*, she associates her writing with the *littérature-monde* movement while creating the formulation *francophonie sans les Français*. Accordingly, Moï complicates the opposition between

⁵ Although I am distinguishing *francophonie* from *littérature-monde*, I do not suggest that both concepts are diametrically opposed whereby *littérature-monde* is simply an idealistic cognate of *francophonie*. Rather, I suggest that a particular group of French-language authors have rejected the ideological import associated with *francophonie* and have consequently found other means to categorize their writing. The rehabilitative nature of *littérature-monde* suggests an anti-colonial agenda similar to Mignolo’s pushback against Western imperialism.

littérature-monde and *francophonie* to the extent that her writing paradoxically embraces and rejects the colonial significations of *francophonie*. The status of Moï's Franco-Asian writing becomes associated with Metropolitan literature while manifesting a noteworthy subaltern orientation.

By using the French language—contorting it, molding it, mixing foreign words with it, destabilizing its syntax, thereby making the language “different” from traditional French literary prose—minority French language authors appropriate the Other's language to legitimize their subaltern agencies in the face of potential colonial oppression:

J'alterne la mixité des temps de procès avec la neutralité d'un substantive. [...] Une manière, peut-être, de rendre hommage à la confusion, en vietnamien, entre passé durable et présent éphémère. [...] Une manière de s'arroger un langage qui ne se positionne pas dans le temps, mais dans l'espace. Une manière aussi d'esquiver l'obligation, en français, d'accorder la conjugaison des verbes avec les genres [...]. Étranger *et* écrivain, on transgressera les frontières sans outrecuidance, on emmêlera les pinceaux – voire, le pinceau et la plume. [...] On pourra malaxer des mots et, toujours nonchalindolent, revendiquer l'innocence. [U]n écrivain de langue maternelle vietnamienne qui écrit en français exprime avant tout un choix artistique. (26, 33)

Embodying the roles of both artist and writer, migrant writers of the French language like Moï, who “gén[èrent] un langage original indifférent aux frontières [mais] écri[vent] toujours dans une langue étrangère, fût-elle sa langue maternelle,” underscore the creative potentialities behind their French writing (33). This appropriative language that involves transforming French into defamiliarizing prose becomes a political

apparatus to counter colonial associations of the French Other's language for these postcolonial writers.

The increasing displacement or “decentering” of *francophonie* by the movements of *littérature-monde* and by postcolonial authors is not to empty *francophonie* of its sociopolitical import. In fact, engaging various minoritized area studies, including Franco-Vietnamese Studies or Indo-Oceanic Studies, can expand the borders of Francophone Studies. For instance by mobilizing the minority fields of Indian Ocean Studies, advanced by critics including Françoise Vergès and Vicram Ramharai, one could gain a perspective into African Studies, which is—perhaps along with Caribbean Studies—the major underlying sub-domain defining Francophone Studies to date. Although it is plausible that a minority area of study can inform the larger field of Francophone Studies, more critical reflections on this issue would consist of assessing how literatures of migrants—and specifically for this dissertation, East Asian *métis* migrants—shed light on a trans-oceanic continuity of colonial-influenced identities.

V. Francophone East Asia and *Métissages*

The increasing focus on what constitutes the notions of *métissage* and *francophonie* has placed attention on regions that may not necessarily maintain postcolonial ties to the Metropole. As I consider East Asia via the notions of *francophonie* and *métissage*, it is worth noting that the theoretical frameworks used

within Franco-Indochinese historical and literary analyses, such as those proposed by Nicola Cooper and Ching Selao, are applicable to relations between France, Japan, and China. In effect, East Asia is subjected to the same constructions of Orientalism that define the space of French Indochina. East Asiatic collectivities thus become associated with mythical, oneiric qualities resembling Indochina's "elaborate fiction, [being] a modern phatasmatic assemblage invented during the heyday of French colonial hegemony in Southeast Asia" (Norindr 1). The nomenclature "Francophone East Asia" may appear contradictory: If France never formally colonized East Asia, then what does such a classification entail vis-à-vis the Metropole and the notion of Orientalism? Furthermore, in the context of *métissage*, how do the literary texts that this dissertation examines add to current and limited discussions on East Asia's political agency in mediating French and Asian postcolonial relations? In particular, what role do Oceanic and Indo-Oceanic regions play in mediating colonial relations between France and East Asia?⁶

An understanding of *métissage* as an affective/epistemic minor transnationalism that structures kinship networks across oceanic regions allows for approaching *francophonie* in a new light. Rather than contentiously de-politicizing and aestheticizing *métissage(s)* à la Lionnet, and rather than advocating for the classification *littérature-*

⁶ It is worth noting in passing the claim Tzvetan Todorov makes that "[c]'est [...] une Asiatique venue vivre sur une île de la Méditerranée qui donnera son nom au continent [d'Europe]" (14). Here, Todorov alludes to the Grecian myth that the daughter of King Angenor of Phoenicia—the land of Phoenicia corresponding to Lebanon—was raised by ordinary Greek men from Crete. The daughter, named "Europe," is brought up in Crete, thereby underscoring "le pluralisme des origines [et] l'ouverture aux autres [qui] sont devenus la marque de l'Europe" (14). Polemically, Todorov posits the Asiatic foundation of Europe via Grecian mythology.

monde to which certain authors have taken issue, I suggest that “Francophone” in the context of East Asian Studies but also more largely in the field of French Studies is a notion that embraces the affective and epistemic kinships created by cross-cultural *métissages*. What the praxis of “embracing” entails is a paradoxical reliance on the Occident (i.e., the Metropole, its *departments*, and its *collectivités*), as well as on the Occident’s language and sociocultural value systems. Franco-Asian minority subjects can harbor sentiments of alterity and nostalgia necessary for them, albeit through negative affects such as alterity itself, to rekindle potentially lost relationships with their ancestral homelands.⁷

Examining negative affects entails historicizing the ways Franco-Asia (Indo)Oceanic and Francophone Asia-North American subjects engage directly with the construction of negativity. As David Pomfret has recently argued, *métissage* has a longstanding association with “the experience of mobility, of living and travelling across empires, defin[ing] colonial childhoods [...] giv[ing] expression to new cultures of movement [...] and new knowledge and social interaction [and] destabili[z]ing them” (6). What an examination of pan-Asiatic diasporas within French colonial regions suggests is a critical attention placed on the trans-colonial, trans-oceanic presence of

⁷ This analysis extends Sianne Ngai’s definition of negative affectivity—or what she prefers to call “ugly feelings” that “could be said to give rise to a non-cathartic aesthetic art that produces and foregrounds a failure of emotional release [...] and does so as a kind of politics” (9). The “failure of emotional release” can be equated to the sentiment of alterity, the Otherness that East Asian *métis* writers embody, such that such negative affects of alterity accompany the failure of writers’ self-expressions in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, as well as with their epistemic unification with their maternal homelands. I am aware of the dangers of using terms such a “positive” or “negative” that tread on subjective value judgments. However, throughout this dissertation, these terms are used in field-specific contexts (in this case, in the domain of Affect Studies) and are thus not to be stripped from their theoretical implications.

métis subjects who have been historically pathologized by the French colonial system. By trans-colonial, I am alluding to Michael Dodson and Brian Hatcher's qualification of the term, whereby "trans" entails the sense that "the nature of modernity [is] understood in multiple ways within specific local contexts" (4). When combined to form the term "trans-colonial," one can regard the relationships expanding across French-colonial spaces in the South Pacific, Indian Ocean, and North American regions as forming a multi-sited, spatial framework with no set center. Specifically in the (Indo)Oceanic and South Asia Pacific regions, the French Empire was operating in tandem with the other European nations' colonial presences. After Japan defeated Russia in 1905 during the heated Russo-Japanese War, the Pacific became a space where empiricist rivalries between Western and Eastern nations took shape. Within this overlapping space of empire-contacts from the 1850s to the early 1900s, systematic waves of Asian migrations—most notably Chinese—moved outwardly toward Mauritius and La Réunion, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Americas.

The physical grandeur that the Asia (Indo)Pacific and Americas represent cannot elide the histories of violence that define the Asiatic migrants' assimilation within these overlapping colonial, expansionist spaces. To adopt Catherine Lutz's phrase that "empire is in the details," one must retrace the historical significations that justify the extent to which Asian and Asian *métis* subjects are confronted with affects of negativity during their migration and subsequent integration (593). Peter Dunwoodie aptly details that during the mid-nineteenth century in "[c]olonial Algeria, assimilation via biological *métissage* was actually rare because sexual contact (in mixed marriage and

concubinage) was itself extremely rare and surrounded by severe constraints and general disapproval” (80-81). Beginning in the eighteenth century but expanding extensively into the nineteenth, *métissage* becomes a politicized factor that leads to colonial officials’ denouncing biracial or *métis* heritage as causing legitimate concerns for pathological infections.

In this regard, Francophone Indochina in the 1900s is marked by a collective sentiment of “boundary anxieties” whereby the colonial French Empire in Indochina manifested “deep-seated fears of *rapprochement*, indifferentiation, and shortening the gap between the self and the Other. [T]he fears over the untameability or uncontrollability of Indochina, coupled with the perceived insalubrity of Indochina, resurfaced in relation to metropolitan anxieties over health and hygiene” (Cooper 145). The numerous Indochinese concubines (*les congai*) who maintained sexual relations with Frenchmen—their union being referred to as *encongayement*—would often give birth to *métis* children. These children would later acquire full citizenship via colonial governmental sponsorship programs, which included the *Société d’assistance des enfants métis abandonnés* in 1894, established by Jules Dussol in 1894 (Pomfret 248).

It is only approximately a year later during the shift in power from Saigon to Hanoi that, as Pomfret has proven, the various *métis* protection agencies in Indochina begin to be dismantled and schools begin to segregate *métis(se)* children from pure European students:

[M]étis protection societies had given up radical assimilationist positions but now sought to emphasize the importance of their

work by recasting Eurasians as vulnerable children. [I]n Saigon and Hanoi, the mixed-race child in the tropics went from being a sign of a negative mutation (or “miscegenation”) to one of the few remaining “hopes” of the French Empire by the late 1930s. (257, 285)

In French colonial Asia during the early 1910s, the restructuring of *métis* protection agencies transpired. At this time, such agencies provided orphaned or abandoned *métis* children with an education. Furthermore, as documents from the *Société de protection et d'éducation des jeunes métis français de la Cochinchine et du Cambodge* note, female *métisses* were arranged to partake in marriages since otherwise “[l]eft to themselves, having no other guide than their instincts and their passions, these unfortunates will always give free rein to their bad inclinations” (qtd. in Stoler 27). In 1925, the *métis* protection agencies in Indochina, financially supported by the French government, saw the transferal of numerous orphaned Eurasians to French families. Just several years prior, between 1915 to 1918, “dozens of *métis* youth of the protection societies had travelled from Indochina to France to serve the [first world] war effort” (Pomfret 272). It is in 1928 that the colonial French government recognized the utilitarian and general non-threat of the overseas Eurasian/*métis* populace.

France granted all Eurasians the right to French citizenship in 1928, and French officials noted that “[i]t [was] crucial that that French society assimilate[d] and absorb[ed] these new French, [who were] fortunately children for the most part at the moment and consequently easier to mould” (qtd. in Pomfret 273). What the *métis* or Euroasians underwent in Indochina is a rapid shift in ideological treatment by the

colonial enterprise over the course of a half-decade, from the 1870s to the 1920s. The *métis* subject progressively moved from empiric subjection to holding a particular form of rehabilitated agency whereby France foresaw Euroasians from Indochina as a populace destined to become French through a process of naturalization and re-civilization. In essence, the French Empire's treatment of its *métis* population in Indochina established a colonialist paradigm and precedence that other neighboring French colonies in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific could emulate. In this historical context, *métissage* became not simply an ethno-racial identification, but specifically an ontology, a state of being, and a way of life marked by its colonial contexts, from subjection to liberational assimilation. This assertion is not to essentialize all Eurasian/*métis* subjects under a catch-all paradigm, but rather signals how *métis* populaces had to endure an assimilationist history defined by pathologizations, negative affects, and micromanaging colonial power systems.

Emerging alongside this colonial, historical context in Indochina, the networks of colonial empire systems extended into two oceans—the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. The colonial networks (French, English, Dutch) in the Asia Pacific were built on Indochinese and Chinese subjection to systems of power that have historically engendered indentured servitude or coolie labor, mixed-race unions, and colonial boundary anxieties. Whereas *métissage* is often associated with physical marginality and displacement, as evidenced in Kim Lefèvre's and Linda Lê's works, the term brings together subjects of differing biological, cultural, ethno-racial braidings. For these authors and other *métis(se)* subjects, *métissage* allows for a transversal movement

across the periphery to the so-called “center” that is defined by a colonial empire. For *métis* subjects, the acts of crossing boundaries or centers represent the reclaiming of potentially lost agencies. Such boundary crossings can be seen in literature that often foregrounds *métis* invisibility or contagion, which is particularly the case in Dalmayrac’s *Les sentiers de l’espoir*. In this context, *métissage* can be considered as a modality within the margins of Otherness through which trans-oceanic kinship networks can be established through the French language. As seen in Francophone literatures of the Asia Pacific, the power inherent in *métissage* (de)politicizes, deconstructs, and aestheticizes the fixities of power structures between the Metropole and other countries maintaining cultural and/or colonial relations to France.

These cross-cultural *métissages* represent the interactions between cultures, causing “change and mutat[ions] as they interact, but the change is always a two-way process, however much one culture may effectively dominate another in political or economic terms” (Corcoran 24). This understanding of *francophonie* through *métissage* does not mean to essentialize, dehegemonize, or empty both terms from their various historico-political and postcolonial associations. In fact, these mutations and interactive power structures, many of which are grounded on colonially derived violence, arguably result from transcultural contacts. These mutations to which Corcoran alludes are conducive to promoting awareness of minority voices that otherwise would not be heard. I am careful not to posit a point of view that strictly extolls the periphery, but rather I suggest that the interactions emerge from *within* the complex interrelations

between the periphery and larger empiric power structures. Such a point of view is underscored by Frantz Fanon who has argued that

[l]a violence du régime colonial et la contre-violence du colonisé s'équilibrent et se répondent dans une homogénéité réciproque extraordinaire. [...] Au niveau des individus, la violence désintoxique. Elle débarrasse le colonisé de son complexe d'infériorité, de ses attitudes contemplatives ou désespérées. Elle le rend intrépide, le réhabilite à ses propres yeux. (122)

Fanon posits that the colonized forge a sense of unity when they use counter-violence as a resistance measure against colonial or hegemonic forces. Although Asia was negotiating colonial relations with the Metropole in Indochina and Southern China during the early twentieth century, Asian writers of the French language, many of whom are not implicated in France's expansionist empire in Indochina, do engage with counter-discourses to Metro-centric violence.

As Moï has earlier demonstrated, these Asian writers of the French language appropriate it to articulate their *métis* status and affects of nostalgia and alterity; they “écri[vent] en français exprim[ant] avant tout un choix artistique” (33). This dissertation illuminates French-language works of East Asia, a region of the world not formally colonized by France, and brings this region into the arena of postcolonial criticism by recognizing the intermediary roles that former French colonies in the (Indo)Pacific play. I am also including French-speaking Canada as a region of analysis since the literature produced by French-language *métis* writers in North America are thematically relevant and connected to those works produced by French-language East Asian *métis* writers in

the (Indo)Oceanic region.⁸ The East Asian *métis* writers of the French language make recourse to particular reading methodologies to structure their works around indigenous foodways (Chung and Ly), to retrace forgotten Asiatic diasporic histories from East Asia to postcolonial Francophone regions (Dalmayrac), and to use the aestheticizing forum of poetry to reestablish a long-lost relationship with ancestral East Asian and African homelands (Honoré).

What these writers share, as evidenced by their respective works, is the sentiment of delocalization and victimization—negative affects of sorts—brought about from their minority, *métis* positions. However, as the ensuing chapters will demonstrate, it is through engaging the respective author-narrators’ negative sentiments and negativity that the “lost” and oftentimes imagined East Asiatic homeland resurfaces and reunites with its migrant, *métis* subject. The East Asian *métis* writer of the French language uses the trope of negative affects to produce literature providing a remedy to their marginalized status. As Terry Eagleton explains, “[t]he ‘negativity’ of an oppressed people—its sense of itself as dislocated and depleted—already implies a more positive style of being. The true triumph of alienation would be not to know that one was alienated at all” (37). The cross-cultural, trans-oceanic spaces that *métissage* represents facilitate the free-flow of negative affects across boundaries and among delocalized East Asians residing in non-Asian colonial spaces. However, this trans-oceanic interconnection among East Asians sharing in a collective sentiment of

⁸ By French-language *métis* writers in North America, I am specifically referring to those French-language writers of partial Asian heritage and not to the offspring of Native American and French settlers.

negativity has a positive aspect. As Eagleton continues, “[n]egative collective identity [...] is bound over a period of time to generate a positive particular culture, without which political emancipation is probably impossible” (37). The East Asian *métis* writer’s cultural and literary production embodied in the French language, although underwritten by expressions of negative affects, generates a positive outlook from within the periphery to the outside. This positivity represents a step toward subaltern emancipation.

VI. Francophone East Asia: Orientalist Aesthetics and Indochinese Influences

Any illumination into the traumas experienced by East Asiatic subjects from a French perspective will inevitably lead readers to engage with Said’s notion of Orientalism. Orientalism is here defined as a discourse or epistemology “by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively” (3). As previously demonstrated, France’s relationship with other areas of the Asia Pacific has built itself around the colonial nineteenth-century context of French Indochina and its *mission civilisatrice* promulgated by Jules Ferry’s expansionist projects. Literature stemming from this colonial context, shaped by themes of ethnocentrism and alterity, is exemplified by authors from Pierre Loti and his recognized *récit de voyage*, *Un Pèlerin d’Angkor* (1908), to more contemporary authors offering windows into indigenous life in Indochina, including Michel Ragon and his work, *Ma soeur aux yeux d’Asie* (1982). Nonetheless, as Jean-Louis Joubert notes,

[s]'il n'existe pas de 'littératures Francophones' en Inde, au Japon, en Chine ou dans les autres pays d'Asie [de l'Est] (au sens d'ensembles cohérents de textes littéraires), il faut toutefois noter le foisonnement de tentatives individuelles qui témoignent du rayonnement de la langue française. (84)

Although Joubert's assessment of Francophone East Asian literature is dated given the recent rise of contemporary French language Japanese and Chinese authors, including for instance Akira Mizubayashi, Aki Shimazaki, Dai Sijie, and François Cheng, it is still noteworthy that the usage, adaptations, and mobilizations of the French language offer individualized vocal and written outlets for East Asian writers. Yet, beyond economic and political contexts, France and Asia's relationships are inevitably built on the phantasmatic, oneiric, mythical qualities surrounding Asia.

These mythical representations are traditionally depicted within travel literature penned by Occidental writers not fluent in any Asiatic language whereby Southeast and East Asian regions typically share essentialist, ethnocentric, and/or Orientalizing depictions, as witnessed in the twentieth-century works of André Malraux (*Un barbare en Asie* [1933]), Roland Barthes (*L'empire des signes* [1970]), Julia Kristeva (*Des Chinoises* [1974]), and Amélie Nothomb (*Stupeur et tremblements* [1999]). All of these authors' "Asian" texts follow and resuscitate the ethnocentrist tradition of seventeenth-century French-language travel literature and ecclesiastical literature. Specifically in this regard, China and Japan—nations along with Korea formally comprising what is known today as East Asia—maintain different initial *literary* and *material culture* relations with France. The differing representations that the French maintain of these

two nations converge nevertheless toward a central similarity: Starting from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century, French society subjects East Asia to Orientalizing processes of commodity fetishism (Blum-Reid 6).

Considering the Japanese context, one could see that the religious accounts from various European Jesuit priests during the early sixteenth century, including those written by Italian Jesuit Jean-Pierre Maffei, offer neutral depictions of the East Asian archipelago. The Portuguese Jesuit Louis Froes recalls Japan, for instance, using the following formulation: “L’Europe et l’Asie, dans tous mes voyages, n’ont jamais rien offert à mon admiration qui soit comparable à ce que j’ai vu [au Japon]” (Faivre 390). Yet, such descriptions were later met with stark contrasts. Presaging the Lotiesque tone of ethnocentricity to which Montaigne had ardently denounced in *Des Cannibales* (1580), François Caron, son of a French Huguenot credited as one of the first French subjects to have entered into Japan, recounts his experience in Nagasaki, Japan. In *Vraie description du puissant royaume du Japon* (1636) and *Registre journalier* (1641), Caron observes:

Le pays est sauvage [...] il est habité en certains endroits par des hommes dont le corps est entièrement couvert de poils. [...] Ce sont des bêtes brutes, qui ressemblent plutôt à des hommes sauvages qu’aux autres humains. (qtd. in Proust 80)

The ethnocentrist, mythifying construction of the East Asian Other, underscored by the adjective *sauvage* and by the animalisations of the Other, sets a tone constituting a significant source of inspiration for later French writers.⁹

In this regard, Montesquieu offers a false portrayal of Japanese despotism and barbarism in *L'Esprit des lois* (1748) without ever setting foot on Asian soil:

Jetons les yeux sur le Japon. On y punit de mort presque tous les crimes parce que la désobéissance à un si grand empereur que celui du Japon est un crime énorme. [...] Il est vrai que le caractère étonnant de ce peuple opiniâtre, capricieux, déterminé, bizarre, [...] absoudre [*sic*] les législateurs de l'atrocité de leurs lois. [...] Au Japon [le despotisme] est devenu plus cruel. [...] Voilà l'origine, voilà l'esprit des lois du Japon. (qtd. in Sieffert 125-126)

While the seventeenth and eighteenth century literary sphere shapes East Asia as a barbaric land, France's actual contact with East Asia can be witnessed in the French aristocratic court's fascination with *chinoiseries* or *japonaiseries*. These two terms refer respectively to commodities and physical objects imported from China and Japan. Such items were showcased and fetishized to the point where their commodified exposures would coalesce with signifiers of exoticization. The "mysterious" Japan prompting Occidental fascination manifests itself in ensuing literary and theatrical works of the eighteenth century. Later, the nineteenth century characterizes Japan through aesthetic valuations that reify the archipelago into physical commodities—objects that prominent

⁹ Although I offer French representations of Asia across centuries, I am careful not to promote an ahistorical approach relying purely on generalizations. Rather, I follow René Sieffert's comparatist work in *Le Japon et la France: Images d'une découverte* (1974) to illuminate the major literary works defining East Asia in a certain manner during a specific century.

Frenchmen in nineteenth and twentieth century Paris, including Marcel Proust, Claude Debussy, Claude Monet, and Stephane Mallarmé collected and placed in their curio cabinets.

In the Chinese context, France has long admired this Asiatic nation first through Marco Polo, who arrived to the court of Qubilaï Khan in the thirteenth century. China is first described in his *Le Devisement du monde*, translated into French in 1310. As Marie-Laure de Rochebrune notes,

[s]on manuscrit [celui de Polo] eut un réel succès en France où de nombreuses copies enluminées furent exécutées. Le roi Charles V en avait cinq exemplaires dans sa bibliothèque. [...] Le récit de Marco Polo, imprimé pour la première fois en 1477, donnait de la Chine l'image d'un pays regorgeant de trésors et de phénomènes exotiques, particulièrement enchanteurs. Il devait avoir une postérité considérable jusqu'au XVII^e siècle. [...] À la fin du Moyen Âge, le mythe crût encore à la faveur de la fermeture de l'empire aux étrangers par la dynastie des Ming. La Chine, devenue inaccessible aux Occidentaux, n'en était que plus attirante. (5)

Within this exoticist tradition, the continual mythical renderings of China by Jesuits are replaced with more realistic depictions. For instance, Louis XIV orders various court members to travel to China to report their lived experienced abroad in the Asiatic land. Immersed in the relations between France and China, Louis XIV and his court acquired artistic productions and commodities during ambassadorial visits from Siam. The royal court is noted to have been filled with “d'œuvres chinoises, des pièces d'orfèvrerie, un grand paravent ‘à douze feuilles, ouvrage de Péquin,’ des papiers peints à décor de fleurs et d'oiseaux, des tapis, [...] des meubles en laque de Chine et du Japon” (De

Rochebrune 9). The collections of *chinoiseries* and *japonaiseries* that defined court life in France during the eighteenth century expanded outwardly in France in the form of commodity fetishism. The literary, sociopolitical, and aesthetic relations between East Asia (China, Japan) and France were inseparable. These relations underscored the imbrication of mythification and aestheticism that became synonymous with East Asia in the eyes of seventeenth to twentieth century French society.¹⁰

These descriptions of Asia, limned by Occidental French language writers inscribing themselves within an ethnocentric, Orientalizing literary tradition, stand in sharp contrast to the literary productions by East Asian writers of the French language that move away from offering representations of their respective East Asian homelands in such objectifying manners. East Asia, draped “dans une auréole de fascination irrésistible mêlée d’une angoisse diffuse [...] pour les écrivains français” becomes a strategic geolocality allowing French writers to reinforce the Orientalist constructions formerly put into place, whether knowingly or not (Ferrier, *Tentation* 37).

The strategic usage of East Asia by seventeenth to twentieth century canonical French writers of Asia, including Montesquieu and Loti, is underscored by a motivation to promote their works in an authoritative light to a French audience unfamiliar with Asia. In contrast, East Asian writers of the French language engage discourses on *métissage* to various degrees in their works and follow the methodological and literary

¹⁰ Perhaps it is Abdelkebir Khatibi who best notes this mythifying representation of the East Asian Other: “Voici trois mythes [figures de l’étranger]: celui du bon sauvage (indien, africain), celui de la passion du barbare (qui caractériserait l’Orient arabe et islamique), et celui de l’art du mystérieux (Chine, Japon)” (33).

specificities seen in French-language Franco-Vietnamese literature. In this regard, Jack Yeager advances:

Le mélange de fiction et d’histoire—où se brouille la frontière entre l’autobiographie et la fiction—est caractéristique [...] de l’ensemble des œuvres de[s] romanciers vietnamiens Francophones. [...] Étant donné les raisons politiques et historiques de toute la littérature vietnamienne d’expression française, il convient de s’interroger sur les liens entre l’histoire et cette manifestation littéraire. (“La politique ‘intimiste’” 138).

What characterizes the Franco-Vietnamese literary tradition, defined as the literatures produced by Vietnamese writers of French, is the notable fusion of fiction and Asian migration history that offers windows into authors’ descriptions of postcoloniality, war, and otherness. In essence, Franco-Vietnamese literature largely uses autofiction to underscore the phenomenon of alterity felt by the various author-narrators, many of whom are women in more contemporary publications. It is this specific methodology from the French Vietnamese literary tradition, or this *manifestion littéraire [française]* as Yeager notes, that can be seen in the works of East Asian *métis* writers residing outside of Vietnam.

Following Yeager’s pioneering work in the field of Franco-Vietnamese Studies, I have suggested that Indochina (or Vietnam) is the primary postcolonial locus within Southeast Asia that witnessed the interactions and negotiations between French, Chinese, and Japanese subjects on the same soil. These interactions in Indochina contrast the more isolated Asian-French relations in the ex-colonies of Tahiti, La Réunion, and New Caledonia. East Asian minority and migrant writers residing in the

South Pacific are doubly stigmatized vis-à-vis Francophone Pacific Islander writers since, as Robert Nicole affirms, “Francophone Islanders remain conveniently gagged and are largely unheard by fellow Pacific Islanders. [...] Pacific literature in French is [...] silence” (256). Despite such invisibilities, Francophone Pacific literature’s most minority subsection is French-language Asia Pacific works. Given that there are no clear models from which East Asian (Indo)Pacific writers could work beyond the canonical literary models found in Metropolitan literature, it is plausible that first or second generation East Asian writers of the (Indo)Pacific and North America turned to Indochina/Vietnam where an emerging genre of autofictional postcolonial literature in French was already being produced and circulated.

In this regard, Daniel Margueron emphasizes that many indigenous Pacific or Oceanic writers of French, such as Chantal Spitz and Titaua Peu, do not have a full mastery of their native tongue (i.e., *reo mā’ohi* in Tahiti or various Kanak languages in New Caledonia), which complicates efforts for these writers to produce literature to the same quality and standards as canonical, paradigmatic Francophone works from fully bilingual writers such as Ben Jelloun, Memmi, or Djébar.¹¹ As Margueron notes,

[u]ne question presque obsédante n’a guère cessé de s’imposer à nous tout au long de cette étude et il est temps de la livrer: la littérature océanienne sera-t-elle indéfiniment le fait d’auteurs étrangers au pays et qui ne font que passer? Quand donc une littérature océanienne d’expression française apparaîtra-t-elle pour se placer au côté de ses sœurs Francophones d’Afrique et des Caraïbes? La réponse réside en partie dans les conditions qu’il

¹¹ This is not the case with non-Asian French language authors in the Indo-Pacific and North America, as French language literature (and in La Réunion’s and Mauritius’s case, creole literature) was already being produced in the Mascarene Islands and in Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

faut réunir pour rendre possible la création littéraire. Nous en distinguerons essentiellement trois: une maîtrise complète de la langue française, un degré avancé d'intégration aux valeurs psychologiques et culturelles de la civilisation occidentale, enfin un grand besoin subjectif d'expression comblé par l'écriture.
(394)

Given the paucity of indigenous Pacific literature, which officially begins to take shape in the 1980s in the Oceanic region, it is plausible that East Asian migrant writers residing in this area of the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean have turned to a French-language Asian literary tradition and/or a tradition of *oralité* already established via migratory contact with Indochina during the nineteenth and early twentieth century—the moment of vast migrations toward the (Indo)Pacific from North Vietnam.

Although it is possible to assert that literary exchanges between two or more ethnically different Asian migrant groups could not transpire because the majority of Indochinese migrants were illiterate, one cannot discount the fact that intra-Asian relations did occur, as attested by marriage records kept by the French government in Melanesia (Michel). French often became the blanket language used in intra-Asian Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian couples and families in the Oceanic region. Thus through the migratory process, one cannot elide the possibility that a creolizing literary tradition built on the foundations of *oralité* from Indochina comes into Oceania at the turn of the twentieth century. Evidence of this appropriation of a Francophone Indochinese literary and oral tradition can be seen in Dalmayrac's work, which will be explored in greater detail in the third chapter. In this regard, one cannot exclude the possibility of literary and/or oral exchanges between (1) the *Chân Dàng*,

voluntary workers from North Vietnam serving as indentured servants to work the mines in New Caledonia in 1891 (the total migrant number peaking in 1929) and (2) the Japanese indentured servants who arrived in the same French colony a year later (Vanmai 1980).¹²

One cannot deny the plausibility that over the course of four decades (1890 to 1930), a literary sphere of influence was brought via Indochinese coolies and/or by French colonists to the (Indo)Pacific.¹³ Over the course of sixty years in Vietnam, French-language Vietnamese literature begins to shape the literary landscape on Vietnamese soil as schematized thus:

- De 1913 à 1945, une littérature sous influence coloniale.
- De 1945 à 1975, une littérature insistant sur sa vocation à la fois nationale et universelle, sur fond de guerre coloniale et de guerre civile.
- Depuis 1975, une littérature en mutation, à la recherche d'une nouvelle identité. (*Littératures Francophones de l'Asie* 51)

The Vietnamese literary tradition is thus shaped by colonial French influence, and it is likely that Francophone Vietnamese literature established itself as a framework for French-language East Asian minority literatures in the (Indo)Oceanic region. In effect, the productions of autofictive literature in Indochina set a literary precedence for East

¹² To date, Jean Van Mai's *Chân Dạng* (1980) remains the only French-language Southeast Asian literary work published in the South Pacific. Noticeably, the French-language East Asian narrative voice is male-centered, whereas more contemporary Francophone Vietnamese literature is predominately marked by French-language female author-narrators, including Linda Lê, Kim Thúy, and Kim Lefèvre.

¹³ Colonial-influenced Indochinese literature in French was officially published beginning in 1913.

Asian writers of French residing in the South Pacific and the Mascarene Islands predominately because literary productions by East Asians residing in these (Indo)Oceanic areas have been extremely scarce. Yet despite this scarcity, what these East Asian writers of French have in common is their incorporation of the notions of *métissage* and kinship in their autofictional works.

Along with the themes of *métissage* and kinship, the commonality toward which all East Asian *métis* writers' works converge is the overarching theme of alienation from their ancestral homeland. East Asian *métis* writers speak to these themes symbolically through metaphors or symbols referring to specific elements of the East Asiatic culture. These elements are typically the appearance of Chinatowns, Japantowns, certain Asiatic or Sino-Pacific food items, dialects, and/or other referents in their literatures. East Asia for these French-language migrant writers represents the interior and physical voyages or *errances* that are taken as they return (or attempt to return) to either China, Japan, or Korea and are faced with the epistemological and affective difficulties with coming to terms with the foreignness of their East Asian heritage. Hence, for these migrant writers, one could ascertain that East Asia is the space that remains both accessible and inaccessible, foreign yet familiar—an unlost space where migrant *métis* writers can establish cathartic epistemic and affective kinships with their ancestral roots. This epistemic-affective relationship reconfigures East Asia as less a product of Orientalism or empty-signs than one of ultimate loss. For these migrant writers, literature is the forum through which the author-narrators access

their East Asian motherlands and ancestral lands but realize that such a return only underscores their alterity, hybridity, and delocalization.

Yet, what is perhaps most similar between Southeast and East Asian French-language literature is the extent to which such French-language modes of self-expression are able to exist had in not been for the French postcolonial presence in Indochina during the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. The production of French-language East Asian literature in the South Pacific, Indian Ocean, and Canada is linked to East Asian *métis* authors' categorical embrace of the French language—and by extension, Metropolitan socio-politics—which demonstrates an appropriation of Occidental modes of self-expression. If one compares the thematic and stylistic similarities of French-language East Asian literature with Franco-Indochinese literary productions during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it becomes clearer that colonial France shapes the foundations of Francophone East Asian literatures in the (Indo)Oceanic regions. The similarities in genre and textual presentation can be seen for instance between Dalmayrac's *La petite bicyclette et autres nouvelles japonaises et calédoniennes* (2008) and Nguyễn Văn Huyền's *Le Culte des Immortels en Annam* (1944). The former Asian-Oceanic text and the latter Franco-Vietnamese work illustrate the nostalgia for a past unfettered from the violences brought about by settler colonialism and modernity. The similarities in both these representative works point to a larger thematic, aesthetic, and colonial-influenced continuity in French Asian literatures across oceans and temporalities.

Upon further assessment, one could ascertain that the contact zones between France and East Asia “meet” in colonial Indochina and in the (Indo)Oceanic region—former spaces where the French Empire paradoxically (1) relied on East Asian coolies to bolster their hegemonic presence over indigenous populaces and (2) subjected the East Asian coolies to similar forms of colonial violence as the indigenous populace.¹⁴ The result of these colonial interactions is a literary production by second generation French-language Asian authors who, like Dalmayrac and Honoré, problematize the notion of *métissage* around representations of settler violence.

What is particularly significant about the paradoxical reliance on and violence shown toward East Asian populaces in the (Indo)Oceanic region is the East Asians’ acculturation of the Metropole’s language and cultural value systems and the cultural, genealogical *métissages* that result from such interactions. As chapter three will analyze, marriages between French and Japanese indentured servants in New Caledonia (and conversely between Japanese indentured servants and indigenous New Caledonians) made Francophone New Caledonia a hybrid space between three collectivities, while the neighboring Tahiti saw an influx of Hakka Chinese migrants moving from a French-controlled Southern China at the turn of the twentieth century. Conversely, as Jack Yeager notes, Francophone Canada presents less complexity. Diasporic East Asian movements have been a more recent phenomenon in Canada since

¹⁴ These two characteristics define Franco-East Asian relations within the (Indo)Oceanic region and less so in Canada; as Francophone Canada was not a site of colonial labor forces during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This dissertation also excludes Francophone Louisiana, as there were no noteworthy East Asian influences in this area of North America during this period.

the 1990s, whereas most Asian diasporic influxes into Francophone Canada have been associated with Vietnamese migrants arriving in the 1970s (Yeager, “Bach Mai” 54). French-language East Asians *métis* authors residing in Canada, as exemplified by Ook Chung, do not focus on French imperialism in their works but rather on the affective and epistemic reunifications with their ancestral Asiatic homeland.

The final chapter of this dissertation will historicize the Hakka Chinese coolie migration into the Mascarene Islands, notably in La Réunion at the turn of the twentieth century, to demonstrate the similarities in assimilation histories straddling the Indian Ocean and South Pacific. This final chapter will primarily devote its analysis to the Afro-Chinese *métis* writer Daniel Honoré, while evoking other Réunionnais writers of Afro-Chinese heritage including Jean-François Sam-Long and Sino-Réunionnais heritage Jean-Claude Thing-Leo. As Honoré describes in his poetry, thematically evocative of the *retour aux sources* narratives found in Ly’s and Dalmayrac’s corpus, the poetic subject’s return to an idyllic China is met with disappointment and a subsequent re-questioning of identity. Yet, what makes Honoré’s *Ma Chine-nation* unique in its thematic specificity is the incorporation of Sino-African *métissage* as a trope associated with animality and marronage. The presence of both African and Chinese indentured servants in the Mascarene Islands thus opens a dialogue with Francophone Africa through the gateways of both East Asia and the Mascarene Islands. Examining the relationship that the French Empire maintained through the dual intermediaries of La Réunion and East Asia, I propose rethinking kinship networks through the prism of Afro- and Sino-*métissages* found in La Réunion’s early literary

productions. The Chinese language was the primary language of choice for migrants in La Réunion, and later-published literary works were written in French and Chinese, as evidenced by the lesser-known works of writer Ho Ching Ti. These literary productions were later mixed with Réunionnais Creole, thereby creating works that straddled French, Chinese, and Réunionnais Creole. These linguistically hybrid works incorporate themes of *métissage*, among which involve various idyllic renderings of the African content.

VII. Conclusion: The East Asian *Métis* across Oceans

While the French Empire's relationship with East Asia has been defined by Orientalist constructions derived from literary and sociopolitical relations treading on ethnocentrism and fetishism, I advance that France's empire relied on East Asia to maintain transversal stability across oceans. France's trans-colonial empire across the Indian Ocean into the South Pacific would use East Asians, and specifically East Asian coolies, to spread a French colonial power system abroad. The physical, othering power behind the French Empire finds its literary parallel in Orientalism. French semiotician Roland Barthes, in his proto-Orientalist work of travel literature *L'Empire des signes* (1970), offers a construction of Japan empty of signification, shaping an ideological and imaginative representation of the archipelago and its foreign culture rooted in the author-narrator's epistemology. The strategic and often aestheticized literary renderings of East Asia, qualifiable as Orientalist, nevertheless do not do justice to the actual

historical moments during French colonialism where French forces coexisted with and relied on East Asian populaces to advance French imperialism within the Francophone (Indo)Oceanic region.

Although North America did not undergo a colonization by France at the same that countries in the South Pacific and Indian Ocean did, East Asian migrants did move into Canada for differing reasons. The following chapter will compare the Francophone Nippo-Korean autofictional work of Montreal-based writer Ook Chung and Tahitian Jimmy Ly's Sino-Polynesian work *Bonbon sœur et pai coco* through the lens of Food Studies. I will analyze both texts while retracing the respective migration histories of East Asians to French-speaking Canada and Tahiti that lead up to the moment when both stories' narrations begin in the mid-twentieth century. Through an exploration of both Chung's and Ly's works, readers will see how alimentary consumption, memory, and *métissage*—in its affective, epistemological, and physical embodiments—create kinship bonds across oceans. The East Asian *métis* is thus a phenomenon that is trans-oceanic in nature. Much like East Asian *métis* subjects residing in the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, the East Asian *métis* populace in North America is able to establish kinship networks with other Eurasian *métis* in trans-colonial spaces abroad. These East Asian *métis* writers, whether they be in the Americas or in Oceania, rely on affective *appartenances* across and beyond oceanic spaces, historical periods, and empires to propagate a shared unity of Asian-ness under the aegis of the French language.

Chapter II:
**Savoring the Francophone Asia Pacific: *Métissage* and Foodways in Ook Chung's
Kimchi and Jimmy Ly's *Bonbon sœur et pai coco***

*[La nourriture est] en même
temps un système de communication,
un corps d'images, un protocole d'usages,
de situations et de conduites.*

— Roland Barthes (“Pour une psycho-sociologie” 979)

I. Introduction

As Roland Barthes proposes in the above epigraph, alimentary consumption not only constructs the notion of individual subjectivity through an internalization of the food item, but also integrates the individual into a communicative, sociocultural system associated with the food. Alimentation, its preparation, and its intake appropriate the cultural and gendered scripts underwriting a particular society, making them codified boundary markers that distinguish one social class or geographic locale from another. Similarly to Barthes, one could conceptualize the phenomenon of foodways as a participatory system reticulating social relations around what Mary Douglas calls “a correspondence between a given social structure and the structure of symbols by which it is expressed” (66). Given its sociological and semiotic registers, food serves not only as semantic and structural artefacts, as suggested by Douglas, but also as receptacles of

ethnic subjectivity and signifiers of diasporic identity.¹⁵ Despite the eclectic socio-anthropological theorizations of alimentary consumption, literary scholarship in Francophone Studies has often neglected to address the intersections between foodways, diasporic subjectivity, and *métissage* as they pertain to multiethnic Asian and Pacific Asian migrant writers of the French language.¹⁶

In relation to foodways, theorizing the formal multiplicities of *métissage* is vital to one's conception of a multiethnic diasporic subject. Perhaps the most nuanced approach to understanding the relation between *métissage* and foodways is to see how a migrant's indigenous roots become literally and figuratively consumed. Alimentary consumption is an intimate process that forges a bond between the food item and the person. When Francophone Asian Pacific authors use food symbolism in their narrations, it is often done to underscore the nostalgic memories that the delocalized protagonists exhibit of their Asian or Pacific homelands. The consumption of food immediately reminds the protagonists of their alterity, which leads them to reestablish a seemingly lost affective link with their ancestral Asian or Pacific culture. The knowledge of one's own foreignness produced via retrospective memories triggered by consuming certain tastes or internalizing specific scents undergirds the foundation of a

This chapter is an expanded version of "Savouring the Francophone Asia-Pacific: Métissage and Foodways in Ook Chung's *Kimchi* and Jimmy Ly's *Bonbon sœur et pai coco*" in the *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 18.4 (2015): 453-74.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Douglas 36-54; Bourdieu; Appadurai 3-24; and Sun.

¹⁶ Although the analysis of foodways is not a new area in social and cultural studies, foodways and their relationship to diasporic literature remain an understudied area within Francophone Studies to date. Recently, however, the first periodical devoted to this subject in Francophone literature has appeared. On this point, see Giovanangeli and Robert. See also, Hayes; Peters; and Howell.

definition of *métissage* as an affective, epistemic kinship. Namely, *métissage* can be understood as a process generated and catalyzed by alimentary consumption because both *métissage* and foodways entail a bodily engagement with culinary roots (such as those found in *kimchi* and coconuts) and with one's bio-cultural roots (such as one's origins and memory productions).

The theoretical linkages that can be made between bodies, roots, and food derive from the process-based nature of food consumption and cultural production. As Harriet Kuhnlein and Olivier Receveur suggest, food systems correspond to “all food within [indigenous cultures] available from local natural resources and [that are] culturally accepted. It also includes the socio-cultural meanings, acquisition/processing techniques [...] for the people using the food” (418). The biological necessity to consume alimentary items mirrors a migrant's appropriative identification and internalization of the Other's culture. Like any system having an input, the output must also be an important factor in the well-being of the system itself. The expulsion of bile from food consumption is a process that visually and odorously reminds humans of the “foreignness” rejected from within their body. *Métissage*, too, is a reminder of a claimed alterity that has the power to reconfigure rejection or difference, which is an important component of identity formation and cultural production.

In light of Sidney Cheung and Tan Chee-Beng's anthology *Food and Foodways in Asia* (2007), which examines the construction and consolidation of East and Southeast Asian identity through food and roots, this chapter analyzes alimentary intake

alongside theoretical constructions of *métissage* and the body by focusing on two Francophone texts: Ook Chung's autofictional novel *Kimchi* (2001) and Jimmy Ly's autobiographical work *Bonbon sœur et pai coco* (1997).¹⁷ Perhaps the most apparent similarity between Chung's and Ly's work is their respective place within Francophone Asian-Canadian and Asian-Oceanic literatures. Both authors of the French language are of hyphenated origin: Chung (1963-) is a second generation Japanese-Korean author and teacher residing in Montréal; and Ly (1941-), a second generation Tahitian-born Chinese *métis* living in French Polynesia, emerges from the Sino-Polynesian community known as the *Hakka* (客家). As respective avatars of the authors Chung and Ly, the protagonists in *Kimchi* and *Bonbon sœur* self-identify with and harbor a delocalized Asian identity shaped by the French culture.

Chung gains access to his Asian roots by consuming Korean *kimchi* while in Japan and France, whereas Ly reasserts his Sino-Polynesian identity by recalling the desserts of syrup candies, coconut pies, and other foodstuff while studying in France. *Kimchi* and the Sino-Polynesian food items described respectively in Chung's and Ly's novels (and named in their titles) become codified cultural artefacts representing the Asian or Sino-Pacific motherland with ties to the authors' families, social circles, and roots. In the example seen in *Kimchi*, Chung's use of a foreign term within a French-language narration is suggestive of a textual *métissage* that blends the culturo-linguistic registers of the migrant's language (in his case, Korean) with the French language. This

¹⁷ Both works are currently out-of-print, and Ly's piece has garnered an even more limited readership because it has not circulated outside Tahiti.

linguistic *métissage* renders the Francophone text an example of “plurilingual writing” that “challenges [...] indigenous, conventional [literary] models as well as the dominant structures and institutions” of the French language (Mehrez 122).

This plurilingual writing that mixes foreign terms with French textualizes the migratory experience of Chung’s and Ly’s protagonists who claim multiple identities as a result of their frequent relocations from Asia to France or Francophone Canada. Chung’s identity is formed by the heterogenous influences of Korea, Japan, Canada, and France in his life as a Japan-born Korean. For Chung (or for the author-narrator named Kim O...), this quadruple Franco-Asian origin constructs a fragmented identity that embraces alterity to the detriment of maintaining a place-bound Korean identity. Consumption of *kimchi* becomes the process by which Chung redresses his multivalent Franco-Asian identity because of the dish’s indigenous connections to Korea. In contrast, for Ly the nostalgic evocations of coconut pies and syrup candies are associated with the Sino-Polynesian *Hakka* community to which he belongs. In effect, Ly’s place-bound *Hakka* identity foregrounds food as a way for the author to reassert his indigenous identity while being “othered” in France. As this study will demonstrate, Ly’s cultural and physical *métissages* are most apparent in his excluded relationship to China, which problematizes his place-bound relationship between France and French Polynesia.

II. Japanese Presences in Francophone Canada

The author-narrator's parents in *Kimchi* migrated from Japan to North America presumably during the 1960s, given the current age of the author himself. Chung's parents undertook the migration process approximately a decade after large waves of Japanese migrants elected to move more north-eastwardly toward French-speaking areas of Canada. A postwar Japanese diaspora from British Columbia can thus be seen spreading in areas throughout Canada, with Hamilton, Winnipeg, and Montreal being the top three areas regarded as having been conducive to relocation and re-acclimation (Minami 138). The province of Quebec was seen as a particularly favorable area of relocation for the Japanese because "le sentiment anti-Japonais n'[a] pas eu l'intensité qu'il pouvait avoir au sein de la communauté du Canada Anglophone. [...]"

L'installation des premiers Japonais au Québec fut accueillie avec une certaine ouverture d'esprit dans une ambiance sociable et encourageante" (Minami 139).

Tomiko Minami suggests that the commonalities straddling the Japanese and the Quebecois pointed to a "même souffrance identitaire dans un milieu dominé par la culture anglophone" (139). However, Minami's equation of a weakened Japanese and Quebecois cultural identity in the face of a dominating Anglophone culture is problematic. Minami's analysis offers no specific justification lending credibility to the claim that Francophone Canada was fraught with an unstable identity. Consequently, it would be perhaps less convincing to assert that the Japanese were able to assimilate

“easily” into Francophone Canada simply because their cultural identity was assessed as equally “weak” as Francophone Canadian identity at this time.

Minami’s contributions to Japanese diasporic history and Francophone Canadian history nevertheless offer important points of departure to consider the historical framework from which *Kimchi* emerges. The xenophobia with which the Koreo-Japanese author-narrator was faced while in Japan even decades after the Second World War is a result of retributive postwar racism that Japanese migrants had experienced while in Canada. At the time, Quebec province’s open-door sentiment was not exempt from the inevitable movements of anti-Japanese protests, particularly at McGill University (Montreal), which forbade Japanese-Canadians on campus grounds in 1944 (Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee 10). Despite the hurdles that the Japanese communities faced in Francophone Quebec during the post Second World War period, the *métissages* that the second-generation Japanese have engaged are products of their assimilation processes in this area, especially given that these minority subjects have been influenced by the double diasporas that they experienced directly or indirectly as they and their parents relocated to Francophone Canada.

Similarly to the author-narrator of *Kimchi*, the second-generation Japanese community’s sociopolitical and economic interactions with Canada are built on their multilingual Franco-Japanese and Anglo-Japanese abilities, as well as their plurivocalic identities as Francophone and Anglophone Japanese. In essence, like Chung, the second-generation (or *Nisei*) populace use their linguistic and sociocultural *métissages*

as an advantage to promote their visibility from within Quebecois society. It is this society with its own histories of marginalization and exile that has maintained a pluralistic, *métis* Francophone identity:

[C]ontrairement aux autres générations, les *nisei* avaient tous les attributs nécessaires à la lutte politique, c'est-à-dire une connaissance approfondie de la langue (anglais, français, japonais), de la culture (anglophone, Francophone et japonaise) et de la morale (la conscience des conflits internes posés par la coexistence de plusieurs cultures et le souci aigu de les faire fonctionner harmonieusement). (Minami 155)

The progressive integration of the Francophone Japanese in Canada has taken shape, in particular with mixed-raced marriages and Japanese-Canadian *métis(se)* children comprising sizeable parts of the Japanese-Canadian community. These third and fourth generation Japanese-Canadians, given their exposures to Quebec's multiculturalism, have oriented themselves more toward a Canadian cultural identity rather than maintaining one that is strictly Japanese.

Regarding other Asian minorities including Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian populations in Québec and Montréal, Anthony Richmond observes:

In this mainly French-speaking environment, the recently arrived immigrants were still recovering from the trauma of their often hazardous escape from war-torn countries. Many were afraid that the separatist movement in Quebec would force them to move again. They were having serious difficulties in establishing themselves in steady employment at a time of economic recession. [...] Nevertheless, they expressed satisfaction with their experiences in Canada and appeared to be resigned to their present fate. (90)

The Asiatic presences in Francophone Canada point to the extent to which diasporas and shared traumas, albeit in different forms, define the assimilation histories of Southeast and East Asians in this region. The more recent integrations of Japanese migrants, alongside other Asian ethnicities in Canada, have catapulted a French-language Japanese-Canadian literary presence to run concurrently alongside Francophone Vietnamese- and Chinese-Canadian literatures that have been in circulation a decade prior to the first major publication of a French-language Japanese-Canadian work in 1999.

Since the last decade, Japanese-Canadians of the French language have articulated their minority voice less in relation to *métissage* and to a “Japanese-Canadian” identity than one oriented toward a fully “Canadian” and/or “Quebécois” sociocultural belonging. These French-Asian voices have been presented through both contemporary literature and cinema, circulating throughout Canada and the rest of the French-speaking world. Francophone Japanese-Canadian novelist and recipient of the Prix Ringuelet in 2000, Shimazaki is perhaps the most recognized example of a Japanese migrant-author arriving in Canada during the early 1980s. Cinematic productions, including Claude Gagon’s Quebeco-Japanese film *Karakara* (2012), have offered visual interactions between Quebec, Canada, and Japan. Shimazaki’s and Gagon’s works attest

to the Franco-Asiatic relationships with literary and visual culture, underscoring Francophone and anglophone Canada's pluriculturalism.¹⁸

It is only in the last decade that Japanese writers of French residing in North America have published literary works. Thematically, the works of Francophone Asian literature in North America have shared similarities with those found in Anglophone Asian American literature, with perhaps Korean-American novelist and director Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's French-English language work *DICTEE* (1982) serving as a representative bridge between both Francophone and anglophone Asian literary domains.¹⁹ *Métissage*, exile, assimilation difficulties, violence, alterity, the search for ancestral roots, and identitary liberation are predominant themes found in both these domains. Yet, given the profusion of Asian American literatures circulating since the 1970s and the paucity of Francophone Asian North American works—with Shimazaki, Chung, Kim Thúy, Bach Mai, and Ying Chen as “canonical” examples of Francophone authors—it is difficult to establish parallels between two thematically and ethnically related minority sub-fields of “Asian Diaspora Literature” that emerge in completely separate times under differing motivations. Francophone Asian North American

¹⁸ Although Jack Yeager has noted that Asian diasporic inflow into Francophone Canada has been associated with Vietnamese migrants' arrival in the 1970s following the Vietnam War, the most heavily concentrated East Asian presence comprised of the Japanese and Chinese was seen in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century (“Bach Mai” 54).

¹⁹ By “Francophone Asian North American,” I am excluding the geographic regions of Eurasia and India, given the current non-existence of works penned by Indian and/or Eurasian French-language authors residing (or having resided) in Francophone Canada. Included in the category “Francophone Asian North American literary works” are Southeast and East Asian writers, although “Asian American literature” has included works from authors from the Philippines, India, and the Caribbean. Respective examples of these authors include Jessica Hagedorn, Jhumpa Lahiri, and Shani Mootoo.

literature, which at this point has been associated solely with literature produced within Quebec province, does not stem from a political, post-Second World War or post-Vietnam War context which is more associated with the anglophone Asian American literary tradition.²⁰

Among the many beginning strands of this minority literary category, Asian American literature “emerge[s] in isolation” with “Chinese detainees [in the United States who] distill their emotions and stories of their ordeal in poetry inscribed on the wooden walls of their prison” or with Japanese prisoners-of-war producing literary works within American detainment camps (Huntly 41). The noteworthy rise in Francophone Asian literature in North America, most visibly generated by Shimazaki and Chung, has seen the textualization of diasporic experiences penned by French-writing Asians born in Asia and *not* in North America. Accordingly, Francophone Asian North American literature like Chung’s does not emerge from explicitly Anglo-political contexts informed by war-related anti-Asian xenophobia as does the Asian American literary tradition—a tradition that regards itself as a minority academic discipline illuminating Asian American oppressive histories. Rather, Francophone Asian North American literature emerges from individual diasporic experiences thematically evocative of those in Asian American literature but currently lacks the cohesiveness and

²⁰ As I will note in the next chapter, France’s allied engagement with the United States similarly led to France’s deportation of nearly all Japanese migrants in the French territory of New Caledonia to internment camps in Australia. However, no French-language literatures were produced in Australia apart from conserved written testimonies of Japanese prisoners-of-war, whereas there exists a critically understudied literary genre called “Japanese internment literature,” comprised of works written by Japanese prisoners-of-war in Japanese internment camps in the United States after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

disciplinary structure that would make it a French-language parallel to its Asian American counterpart.

In the following pages, I will focus my close-readings on Chung's Francophone Japanese-Korean novel *Kimchi* in keeping with this dissertation's major theme of *métissage*. Although Chung is not biologically *métis*, his unique social status as a *Zainichi Kankokujin* (在日韓国人) or Japanese-Korean striving to regain a lost relationship to his ancestral homeland of South Korea and to his motherland Japan renders him an ethnically and culturally *métis* diasporic subject. *Kimchi* recounts the trials and tribulations faced by Chung, who goes by the name Kim in the novel, as well as the identitary renegotiations that he continually faces: Foodways become a means through which Chung, through Kim, accesses his roots that are symbolically consumed. It is this act of consumption, both literal and figurative, that serves for the author-narrator as a continual source of imagination and solace.

III. Chung's *Kimchi*: Identity Renegotiations, Incest, and the Maternal

Part one of Chung's first autofictional novel, which takes place in Osaka, Japan, from 1985 to 1986, is entitled "Kimchi" and contains an epigraph of an old Korean proverb: "Un homme peut vivre sans femme, / il ne peut pas vivre sans ses kimchi" (63). The author-narrator's personal relationship with *kimchi*, seen as he internalizes the dish and equates it to a fundamental component of Korean cultural belonging, underscores his Korean identity while living in Japan:

J'ai compris que j'étais coréen le jour où j'ai découvert que je ne pouvais pas me passer de kimchi. [...] Le kimchi, c'est plus qu'un condiment ou une garniture de table, c'est le symbole national de la cuisine coréenne, cela fait partie de nos cellules et de notre sang, de notre identité à nous, la diaspora coréenne éparpillée à travers le monde. (63)

The author-narrator frames each description of *kimchi* in relation to his problematized identity, to his personal memory in Korea and Japan, and to the memory of his mother.²¹ Foodways and memory both articulate a national identity within the culturally *métis* subject's epistemology, which "becomes an emotional landscape for producing and re-producing a particular time, place and politics of intercultural interaction and of 'Asian' belonging" (Duruz 186).

Identity, foodways, and memory are thus mutually dependent, and the localization of memory within a specific ethnic collectivity can be structured by the internalization of food, which houses sensorial experiences and sociocultural (and therefore political) signifiers. In this regard, John Gills advances that "the core meaning of an individual or group identity, namely a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering, and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity" (3). Yet, Gills's assertion presumes that individual and group identity is stagnating and does not change. Gills seemingly suggests that one's culture is non-appropriatingly and monolithically self-defined and is thus disconnected from surrounding cultures. A corrective to Gills's formulation would dismantle the notion of identity-*qua*-sameness

²¹ For critical explorations of Kim's identity in *Kimchi* that do not privilege a foodways analysis, see Cox and Hong 37-52 and Yang 85-100.

and would redefine identity as a negotiated affiliation toward two or more cultures. This identity *appartenance* would not dislodge, de-historicize, and (re)construct cultures “from their temporal, spacial, geographical, and linguistic contexts” but would conserve the same hegemonic structures between the differing cultures (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 119). Such a redefinition of identity—one that does not displace or erect new structures of sociocultural and political power—bases itself on differential identification rather than hybridity or syncretism. This negotiatory identity vis-à-vis the Other has the power to generate social discrimination and racial prejudices, which are interactive by-products that raise awareness of the politicality and polemicality of “otherness” itself.

In this kind of appropriative identity system, *métissage* becomes more than simply culturally dyadic or bicultural for a mixed-race migrant: *Métissage* becomes culturally multifarious and manifests a force that appropriates the Other’s culture without fully deterritorializing the space between migrant and Other. This constructive, appropriative identification toward the Other would epistemically define one’s own identity—an identity that would be iteratively enacted. In this way, as Werner Sollors maintains, ethnicity becomes “the recognition of the general constructedness of the modern world” and “widely shared, though intensely debated, collective fictions that are continually reinvented” (x-xi). The scriptive aura of foodways seen within ethnicities is underwritten by continually renewed and regenerated intra-ethnic collective memories. Foodways and memories thus share an important bond: Foodways, as presented in *Kimchi* as often accompanying scenes of nostalgia, bridge the monocultural associations of ethnic food with a shared multiculturalism. What emerges from

this interaction is an interlocking force that sees memory and language producing epistemic, affective, and corporeal linkages between the migrant and his homeland. Tess Do articulates this complex interplay, placing import on the somatic component of foodways:

Tout comme l'ingestion de la nourriture dans le corps, la transition d'une culture à l'autre, faite à travers l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère, passe par cet orifice intermédiaire qui est la bouche. C'est l'organe même qui symbolise à la fois la consommation et le contrôle puisqu'elle seule permet le passage entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur. La culture, comme la nourriture, doivent négocier leur entrée afin de ne pas provoquer un refus catégorique: elle doit se montrer nutritive [...] donc indispensable à la survie du corps. (142)²²

The mouth becomes the *locus* where signifiers of the public/private, of socioculture, and of language converge. Chung's *Kimchi* foregrounds these epistemological and phenomenological elements depicting Kim's struggles to find a solution to his *déracinement*. The narrator's consumption of *kimchi* unknowingly becomes the necessary solution to his identity crisis.

Throughout *Kimchi*, the author-narrator fixates on the instability of his identity, and although consuming *kimchi* does offer him enough emotional stability to face the effects and affects of alterity, the author-narrator notes that he in fact has no records of his birth information—the fundamentals of his veritable identity. In this regard, Kim recounts the effect that his diasporic journey from Yokohama to San Francisco had on

²² See also Lupton 3.

him as a child. In order to register their son on board the ship, Kim's parents had to forge his age and identitary information. The parents forged this birth information, as their son's official birth certificate delineating his delivery to Korean parents was destroyed in a fire:

[M]es parents n'avait pu s'empêcher de truquer ma date de naissance pour obtenir une réduction [...] sur le tarif de mon billet: à peine plus d'un mois avant notre départ, j'avais fêté mes trois ans, mais mes parents décidèrent de me rajeunir sur le registre afin de me faire compter parmi les deux ans et moi. C'était peut-être aussi bien, d'ailleurs, car l'hôpital où je suis né a brûlé quelques années plus tard, de sorte que je n'ai aucun document ou certificat de naissance pour attester de ma réalité légale. (12)

The difficulty that Kim faces results not only from the erasure of Kim's legal identity, which includes his Korean name and the adopting of a secondary name "Noboru" to be used in place of his real name, but also from assuming the status of a socially discriminated *Zainichi Kankokujin* (在日韓国人).²³ The author-narrator recounts his dual ethnic identity thus:

Toute ma vie je traînerais avec moi cette confusion, cette double date de naissance, comme un être à deux têtes, à quoi s'ajoute une double identité: bien que j'utilise aujourd'hui mon prénom coréen, avant de quitter le Japon, j'étais "Noboru" [...] moi qui signifie en japonais "ascension," et c'est plus qu'une sensation de remonter le cours du temps, de retrouver mes racines. (12)

²³ *Zainichi Kankokujin* mainly refer to Koreans born and residing in Japan, but they can also denote Koreans who immigrated to Japan for political reasons. Seen as a "tainted-blood" ethnicity in Japan, *Zainichi Kankokujin* constitute the largest minority population on Nippon soil. Kim provides examples of this social discrimination, particularly in the episode that depicts his mother, Mitsouyo, failing to qualify for a job as secretary at the police bureau because she had identified herself as a Korean on her application.

As both ‘Noboru’ and ‘Kim’, the author-narrator fully embodies the dual identity of a *Zainichi Kankokujin*, as well as the strained socio-political signifiers associated with this minority identity heavily discriminated against in Japan.²⁴

As a minority subject in Japanese society, Kim also links the [o] sound in his name to that found in *Orient* and *Occident*, symbolically associating him with France and Francophone Canada: “Dans mon prénom [coréen], il y a le symbole chinois du feu, mais il y a aussi, dans son épellation occidentale, la lettre ‘o,’ qui rime avec eau...O comme ‘Orient,’ comme ‘Occident’” (246). Yet, that the author-narrator not only refuses to refer to himself in the narration by his first name, which is revealed to be “O...,” but also presents this Korean name elliptically suggests an erasure of his subjectivity. It is only through internalizing *kimchi* that he feels liberated. His name symbolically bridging the divide between the Orient and Occident, Kim compares his more localized, discriminated identity as *Zainichi Kankokujin* to that of persecuted Jews during the Second World War. In this regard, Kim equates the “parfum de kimchi” that pervades his mother’s clothing as “une étoile jaune” (68).²⁵

Kim then shifts the narration to focus on the discrimination that his mother, Mitsouyo, encounters during her adolescence in Japan. By incorporating a personal

²⁴ The author-narrator refers to himself as “Kim,” using his last name as his primary identification. His first name appears in the narration as the truncated “O...,” visually evocative of the erasure of his Korean name and identity.

²⁵ The author-narrator’s mother and certain episodes involving *kimchi* reappear in Chung’s *La Trilogie coréenne*, as analysed by Kim-Bernard.

episode of his mother in the narration, Kim is able to describe a shared embodiment of discrimination that his own mother similarly experiences in Japan. In a surprising meeting on a street, a Japanese woman accosts Mitsouyo, asking her whether she is Korean and has *kimchi* to give away; the woman subsequently reveals that she spent her childhood at Pusan during the Japanese colonial occupation. What remains in this woman's memory is not the war-time political tensions between Korea and Japan but rather the taste of *kimchi*: "Sans doute sa mémoire édulcorée avait-elle effacé les souvenirs de l'occupation, les cruautés de la guerre, la hiérarchie entre Coréens et Japonais, mais elle avait gardé de son enfance à Pusan cette saveur inoubliable de *kimchi*" (69). Mitsouyo subsequently sells the woman *kimchi*, made by Kim's grandmother, in exchange for needed money because at the time "les Coréens-Japonais n'avait pas accès aux emplois normaux ni à une éducation" (69-70). The production of *kimchi* financially stabilizes the Kim household; and the Japanese woman's internalization of Korea's national alimentary item, which triggers her adolescent memories at Pusan, renders her a cultural *métis*. Accordingly, the marketed *kimchi* becomes an exchange-value coded with cultural, affective signifiers.

For the Japanese woman, the memory attached to her childhood consumption of *kimchi* transcends the oppressive politics of *Zainichi Kankokujin* discrimination and brings her more closely to Mitsouyo, who would be seen as a social outcast in the eyes of perhaps any other Japanese citizen at the time. Mark Watson contends that "food underlines how the 'behavior and beliefs' surrounding food practices are processes of identity and thus fluid and subject to patterns of historical and social change" (134). The

act of internalizing *kimchi* prompts childhood memories for the Japanese woman, thereby acculturating her Japanese epistemology vis-à-vis a Korean geographic context. Additionally, the Japanese woman's purchase of Mitsouyo's *kimchi* ascribes an organic life to the alimentary item because it functions as an exchange-value; *kimchi* is not only a commodified product but also a transcultural catalyst that engenders memory production and brings together various intra-ethnic social groups through conciliatory means.

Within the name *kimchi* is *chi*, the Japanese expression for “blood” and “consanguinity” (血). Mitsouyou's (and the narrator's) Korean surname Kim is thus phonetically juxtaposed with the Japanese term for blood (*chi*).²⁶ As the author-narrator demonstrates through this cross-linguistic juxtaposition, *kimchi* manifests a harmonizing Koreo-Japanese linguistic *métissage*, which on a fundamentally discursive level brings together and deterritorializes two socio-politically antagonistic ethnicities. The unified and rehabilitated relations between Korea and France, as seen through the linguistic *métissage* phonetically enmeshing *kim* and *chi*, construct an imagined space in which Koreans and Japanese would engage in a de-politicized citizenry. The antagonistic, hierarchizing socio-political signifiers associated with Korea and Japan become displaced, flattened, and rhizomatically overlapped within the process of *kimchi*

²⁶ The narrator questions this juxtaposition: “Cette association puérile me fait sourire aujourd’hui, mais je me demande si cette trouvaille accidentelle n’a pas ses racines dans quelque chose de plus profond, car je jurerais que je ne peux pas me passer de kimchi plus d’un mois sans que mon sang ne crie de révolte contre cette privation et ne réclame son juste dû de salade piquante” (64).

intake; and those consuming *kimchi* partake in a Koreo-Japanese citizenry that disavows alterity to identify fully with the Other. This alterity suggests a shared, participatory “otherness” between oneself and the Other. Via the phonetic similitude *chi* found in *chi*/blood/consanguinity (血) and in *kimchi* (김치), whereby the latter bears the narrator’s first name *Kim*, one could ascertain that Kim is literally and figuratively consuming his roots to reassert his Asiatic subjectivity.

Although Kim returns to Japan as an exchange student and subsequently to Korea as a tourist during his collegiate studies in Canada, he is able to assume a place-based identity as Japanese, Korean, and Canadian through internalizing the foodstuff recognized by all three countries: *kimchi*. For instance, Kim recalls his brief sojourn in Korea, recounting that “à travers les petites rues obscures et odorantes de Séoul, me parvenait l’odeur du kimchi, telle une invitation familière” (67). Similar to the Japanese woman who accosts his mother on the street, Kim accesses Korea through the sensory faculties of taste and smell. Additionally, Kim’s choice to incorporate the word *kimchi*—a term phonetically both Korean and Japanese—within a French text occidentalizes the foreign word, thus mirroring Kim’s own occidentalization while narrating in French. In effect, narrativizing his autofictional work in French allows him to claim a linguistic citizenship with France that transcends the rigidly political. This linguistic citizenship with France renders Kim’s narration a personalized introspection and inscribes Kim’s work within a larger continuity of French-language literary

productions. Françoise Lionnet reminds readers of the appropriative identification foreign authors have with France as they write in French:

To write in French is thus also to transform French into a language that becomes the writer's own: French is appropriated, made into a vehicle to express a hybrid, heteroglot universe. The creative act of taking possession of a language gives rise to a kind of linguistic *métissage* visible in many Francophone works. (1995: 13)

Kim's place-based identity as Japanese-Korean and as a French-speaking narrator blurs the boundaries between textual, linguistic *métissage*, on the one hand, and ethno-cultural *métissage*, on the other.

Although Mitsouyo and Kim are *Zainichi Kankokujin*, the latter's access to his Korean roots is hindered by an inability to understand the Korean language. Kim's frustrating incapacity to understand his ancestral language and "commencer et [...] finir une phrase dans la même langue; [...] il ne sort de [la] bouche que des brochettes d'expressions tronquées en japonais, coréen, anglais, toute confondues," stigmatises him as a delocalized individual longing to be reterritorialized (64). Accordingly, the author-narrator's dislocated documented, linguistic, and symbolic ancestral roots complicate maintaining an identity affiliation to both Korean and Japanese ethnicities:

Longtemps j'ai cherché à savoir qui j'étais, longtemps j'ai cherché une réponse à l'incessante question: « À quelle identité culturelle te sens-tu appartenir et pourquoi? » Si je répondais « le Japon », on me reprocherait de ne pas connaître ce pays plus qu'un Occidental, bien que j'y sois né et que le japonais ait été ma langue maternelle et usuelle jusqu'au jour où mes parents ont décidé d'émigrer au Canada. Si je répondais « la Corée », comme j'ai toujours eu l'habitude de le faire spontanément, les preuves à l'appui me

faisaient défaut car je n'ai mis les pieds dans mon pays ancestral qu'une seule fois. (63)

Nevertheless, Kim's difficulty to self-identify with his placed-based identity becomes redressed more than a decade later in 1998 when he meets for the second-time Amy Mikami, the half-Japanese, half-American *métisse* child of the nurse who attends to him at his hospital bedside. Kim first meets Amy as a child when he unsuccessfully tries to woo her mother Mikami, and during this time, Amy harbors no emotional attraction toward the author-narrator.

In effect, Amy's *métisse* presence not only reminds Kim of his own ethno-cultural *métissage*, but also subjects him to an introspective re-examination of his sexuality. From the beginning of *Kimchi*, Kim acknowledges that, given his psychical similarity to other Asians, he had initially regarded his attraction toward Asian women as "incestuous," and for that reason, he would distance himself from such women:

Lorsqu'il m'arrivait par exemple de croiser une Vietnamiennne dans la ruse, je n'éprouvais aucune attirance particulière, *comme si entre nous existait un tabou incestueux*. Je ne sais trop comment le désir pour d'autres traits asiatiques s'est éveillé en moi; tout ce que je sais, c'est que cela s'est fait progressivement, par détours pourrait-on dire. (20, emphasis added)²⁷

Immediately before meeting Amy upon the second encounter, Kim gazes at a painting in an art gallery entitled *Inceste karmique* and is startled to know that it was signed

²⁷ Yet, despite the initial "incestuous" sentiments that deters Kim from approaching Asian woman, he later has several sexual encounters with numerous Japanese women and inadvertently receives fellatio from his Korean half-sister, Aerin, in a Tokyo sex-shop (185-89).

“Amy Mikami,” the *métis* child whom he is about to visit. As he examines the tableau, he hears two onlookers behind him conversing about the nature of incest. Kim quotes one of these men: “L’inceste, répondit son compère (il devait s’agir de deux professeurs), c’est l’ignorance de ses origines: Œdipe commet l’inceste précisément parce qu’il ignore qu’il est le fils de sa mère” (176). What this definition of incest suggests is the unawareness of one’s past and roots, which is precisely the impasse with which Kim is faced: His inability to access his ancestral Korean roots, given that he has never met his biological father and given his inability to communicate in his ancestral language, renders him an “incestuous body,” at least in his own eyes.

Years later after this episode at the art gallery as Kim sees Amy, he is reminded of his own divorce from Korea as a cultural *métis*, and in his mind, projecting any romantic desire onto this biologically *métisse* girl when not knowing his own culturally hyphenated roots would qualify as “incestuous.” Amy only reveals her repressed romantic feelings toward the much older Kim when the author-narrator stops to visit her during this second encounter. In a letter Amy addresses Kim: “Ne me dites pas que c’est une émotion normale à mon âge pour quelqu’un de plus vieux. Non il me semble que les affinis électives que j’éprouve envers vous date d’il y a longtemps, d’avant notre première rencontre...” (184). Upon reading Amy’s letter, Kim leaves her without saying a word, still saddened by his inability to recognize his origins.

Later through his Korean half-sister Aerin, whom he meets for the first time after decades of separation at the Tokyo bordello, Kim receives a letter written by his

true biological father, incidentally named *Kim-Chee-Hee*. Kim discovers that the letter urges him to disavow his Korean heritage by ignoring his ancestral roots: “Mon cher enfant, à quoi bon tenter de chercher ta famille ‘biologique’? [...] La recherche des racines comme panacée est une illusion. Chéris ton déracinement. [...] J’envie ton déracinement et je bénis ta malédiction” (237). This discouraging letter closes by evoking the phonetic similarity between the Korean term *kimchi* and the Japanese expression for “good feeling” *kimochi* (気持ちいい)—a term often used to describe pleasurable sexual encounters. His father notably associates otherness with the taste of *kimchi*:

Cette sensation d'*unfulfilment* [sic] et d'appétit aiguillonné, qui donne son identité et sa saveur inoubliable au kimchi. Les Japonais ont une expression qui, chaque fois que je l'entends, se confond toujours dans mon esprit avec celle de kimchi: « kimochi », qui veut dire « sensation » ou « humeur », souvent avec une connotation presque jouissive (au sens sexuel). Mais, comme dans les religions tantriques, la jouissance n'est atteinte qu'après une longue abstinence. (237)

The letter suggests that the “incestuous” ignorance of origins and the sentiments of alterity that Kim subsequently exhibits “give” *kimchi* its flavor. Kim’s father thus associates alterity and memory with the consumption of *kimchi*, which he later mistakenly equates to *jouissance*. That Kim’s father confuses the Korean word *kimchi* with the Japanese word *kimochi*, which he interprets as sexually *jouissive*, suggests that the internalization of *kim(o)chi(̃)* reifies sexualized alterity in the form of food.

Given the father's conflation of *kimchi* and *kimochi*, one could conclude that the consumption of *kim(o)chi(ī)*, which phonetically blurs together the Korean and Japanese languages, contradicts the father's message: The sensation of "un-fulfilment" or *de facto* identity to which the father refers cannot be equated to *kimchi* consumption because internalizing a linguistically *métis* word would mean to deterritorialize feelings of *non-appartenance*. Internalizing *kimchi* would in fact destabilize the author-narrator's multiethnic subjectivity, and the sexual signified of *kim(o)chi(ī)* as *jouissance* would, of all things, placate any sentiment of un-fulfilment. In effect, consuming a linguistically *métis* term imbued with sexual signification renders Kim, cognizant of his own eating of *kimchi*, epistemologically *métis*: Kim passively participates in the gastronomic acculturation of Korea and Japan. In this manner, the author-narrator manifests a conciliatory place-based identity that harmonizes his unique relationship with Korea, Japan, France, and Canada via the sensual, translinguistic affectivity of *kimchi* intake. Certain scholars, including Ching Selao, have suggested that Kim cannot find the means to placate his negative sentiments regarding his fragmented multiethnic identity. Selao, ascertaining for instance that "O... Kim, dans sa quête de lui-même, réalise que son identité ne peut qu'être fragmentée, morcelée, inachevée et en quelque sorte sans origine," does not acknowledge the extent to which the author-narrator unknowingly appeases his sentiments of alterity through Korean foodways (57).

The father's suggestion that Kim equate *kimchi* with a disavowal of his Korean affiliation would be to regard Korea as an abjected ancestral homeland. After all, as Julia Kristeva advances, the abject "is something rejected from which one does not

part” (*Powers of Horror* 4). Given that the Japanese term for blood is phonetically intercalated within the Korean word *kimchi*, this specific food—blood-red in its presentation—becomes a strong codifier for abjection.²⁸ A migrant (such as Kim’s father) who characteristically renounces identitary affiliation with his ancestral homeland, as well with associative ancestral roots, renders the ancestral or natal home an abject *locus*. The migrant would thus become bearer of the abject, as *kimchi* becomes visually and phonetically associated with abject blood. Because *kimchi* is the symbolic food of Korea, its internalization makes Kim and his father abject hosts, thereby rendering this particular foodway process one of abjection. Yet, although Kim bears the abject by consuming *kimchi*, he is able to reverse the process of abjection because he finds maternal solace in its consumption. In this way, the seeming “abjectness” of *kimchi* alimentation is paradoxically maternal and comforting: Foodways seen in this logic become a type of semiotic and culturally coded element imbricating registers of memory with the maternal. As Kim willingly subjects himself to *kimchi* consumption, his alterity inevitably becomes associated with the maternal, thereby bringing him more closely to the ancestral roots of his mother land.

Although Kim suggests that his identity is fragmented and reveals that “[i]l n’y avait pas de fin à cette identité, où alors celle-ci était à trouver dans le chaos et son propre inachèvement,” he fails to realize that his invigorating *kimchi* consumption offers a consolation tempering his sentiments of despair (220). It is for this reason that

²⁸ In Kristeva’s formulations on the abject, she regards blood as a primary element of abjected body fluid (*Powers of Horror* 96).

immediately upon feeling “lost,” Kim finds a jar of *kimchi*—which he does, for instance, at a Chinatown in France after reading his father’s letter: “C’est là que j’avais l’habitude de commencer rituellement mes visites au Chinatown. Le kimchi: ça commençait à me manquer terriblement...J’ai acheté un pot pour le manger à l’hôtel” (239). The solace that Kim finds while eating *kimchi* allows him to police and localize his otherness while in France; and as a result, his alimentary consumption of this symbolically Korean food binds him more generally to other minority Asian collectivities living abroad.

IV. Foodways and Francophone Sino-Polynesianity: Jimmy Ly

Like Chung’s autofictional *Kimchi*, whose title evokes the central Korean food that engages the protagonist’s alterity, Jimmy Ly’s autobiographical work *Bonbon sœurette et pai coco* evokes syrup candies and coconut pies—sweets consumed by members of Ly’s Sino-Polynesian ethnic group, the *Hakka*.²⁹ Author of *Hakka en Polynésie* (1999) and *L’Étang aux chevrettes* (2003), as well as several other lesser-known pieces, Ly provides readers in his autobiographical texts with a nostalgic glimpse into his life as both a Sino-Polynesian and a French citizen:

I have never ceased to lay a claim on my belonging to my hakka roots. I know for sure that I am not a Polynesian and though I hold a French passport and a French identity card, there is no ambiguity

²⁹ The dwindling *Hakka* community refers to those individuals of Chinese origin residing in French Polynesia. *Hakka* immigration from mainland China to French Polynesia begins in 1865. There exists numerous sources on the histories of Hakka migration into French Polynesia and around the world. Specifically in the Francophone context, consult Coppenrath; Dallet; Saura; Tsang Mang Kin; and Fer.

that I am not either a Frenchman for that matter. But France is my country of citizenship, the country where I have studied for more the eight years and French is the language I communicate within my own community and with the Polynesians in Tahiti. (“Fate”)

Ly, whose full Chinese name is Ly Yuan Sang (李元生), manifests a similar difficulty as does Ook Chung since both culturally *métis* authors find themselves negotiating between multiple ethnic identities via foodways. Specifically, Ly resorts to foodways to explain his culturo-epistemic identity as “à la fois un Français, un Polynésien et un Chinois,” and states, “[J]’en suis né à me demander aujourd’hui, où se situent mes convictions culturelles œcuméniques; [...] il est déjà si difficile d’être soi-même, alors une identité chop suey [sauté de légumes variés] sans y inclure l’indispensable ‘chao sao’ [viande grillée cantonaise]” (*Adieu* 127). Comparing his fluid, multivalent identity to an abundance of sautéed Chinese vegetables, Ly uses a food-related metaphor that visually underscores his physical similarities and liminality as *entre-deux*.

Ly’s specific evocations of alimentation in *Bonbon sœur*, which are not restricted to syrup candies and coconut pies, are intertwined with his memory of the *Hakka* community that he leaves behind in the mid-1950s: Ly’s parents send him to Paris with the hopes that he pursues a high-school education. Even at an early age, the author recognizes that he would be delocalized and ejected into an unknown foreign territory. Anticipating trepidation, he relates:

Avant que je n’en prenne le chemin par la voie des mers, [la France] me paraissait surtout lointaine et irréaliste à l’image du monde extérieur dont je connaissais rien, autrement que par ouï-dire. [...] Avec l’insouciance de mon jeune âge, je n’avais moi-même qu’une très

vague idée du pourquoi je devais poursuivre mes études en France.
[...] Je me retrouvais ainsi jeté dans un étrange processus sans bien
savoir comment m’y trouver et m’y comporter. (17)

Defining in advance this acculturation in terms of “un étrange processus,” Ly exhibits a sentiment of alterity in his homeland as he prepares for France despite his foreknowledge that he should be able to communicate freely in French—a language that he has studied as an adolescent. Beyond knowing the French language, Ly’s only other “knowledge” of the French-Other was through a stereotyped image of French cuisine:

Question nourriture, [à] Tahiti, de la cuisine française, je ne
connaissais que le steak frites de rigueur et de macaronis à la sauce
plus italienne qu’hexagonale que mes parents se faisaient un point
d’honneur de nous servir avec le couteau et la fourchette, de
maniement plus facile que les baguettes. (64)

The stereotypical French food items, such as “le steak frites de rigueur” served alongside forks and knives instead of the more familiar chopsticks, are foreign, consumable elements that are part of Ly’s acculturation process. This process is itself one symbolically consumed as Ly makes his journey to France.

After Ly’s acclamation in Paris and attending the Collège Stanislas, he undergoes a progressive *francisation* that causes him to distance himself from his moral upbringing shaped by the teachings of Confucius and Lao Tseu (46). Yet, despite this foreignizing cultural appropriation, Ly is able to police his positionality and identification with the French culture, striving to localize his identity as a Sino-Polynesian residing in France. Ly’s reassertion of his cultural and physical Sino-

Polynesian *métissage* accordingly displaces his initial *francisisation* that he regards as the culprit behind his inability to negotiate a “mixed identity” straddling *polynésianité* and *parisianité*:

En fait, en intégrant en moi ce caractère unique qui appartient à ce qu’il y a de meilleur chez les Français, c’était à la fois rendre justice et hommage à la civilisation qui m’avait accueilli, et je ne courais le risque inverse que d’être un jour incompris des miens. [...] En vivant toute mon adolescence en France, période cruciale d’une vie où tout fut questionnement, tâtonnement, confrontation, rejet, mimétisme, [...] dans [laquelle] ma propre identité se mettait peu à peu en place, je n’ai réussi qu’à savoir ce que je ne suis pas, mais non qui je suis vraiment. [J]e cherche à retrouver en moi mes propres gisements pour pouvoir remonter jusqu’à la planète d’où je viens. (85, 145)

Although Ly’s identity seemingly qualifies as fragmented, his will to “remonter jusqu’à la planète d’où [il] vien[t]” suggests that he identifies with his *Hakka* roots that would offset his alienation in France: “What can you do, when you are Hakka, French, Polynesian all at the same time and a little bit of each[?] My answer is [...] I am a Hakka” (“Fate” 14).³⁰

Throughout *Bonbon sœurte*, however, the author hints that his sentiments of alterity are tethered to his physical and linguistic dissimilarities from the Chinese minority residing in France—feelings exacerbated by the ignorance of his French peers

³⁰ It is noteworthy that Ly asserts his identity affiliation here in English and not in Sino-Polynesian or French. Additionally, unlike the author-narrator’s surname in *Kimchi*, which is erased within the French-language text (O...), Ly’s surname (Ly/李) in the French phonetic translation retains the same sound as the Chinese surname, thus suggesting Ly’s ability to conserve his indigenous identity: Ly acknowledges his affinities with the French culture that provides him with the linguistic tools needed to articulate his personal and ethnic (hi)story. See Ly, “Hakka” 226.

who ask: “Pensez donc! est-ce qu’ils [les Polynésiens] parlent le même français comme chez nous?” (*Bonbon soeurette* 58). Moreover, Ly’s inability to communicate in Mandarin makes him an outcast in the eyes of the Chinese population living in France: “Ne sachant ni lire ou écrire un traître de mot de mandarin, je n’avais emporté avec mes maigres bagages qu’une vague conscience de ma différence” (58). This linguistic handicap intertwines with his physical difference from the Chinese community in France when he and his best friend, J.C., visit local Chinese students who shun their presence: “Dans ces rencontres culturelles avec ces étudiants chinois des deux Chines, nous avons découvert qu’en plus de bande à part, nous faisons pathétiquement figures de barbares et de parents pauvres” (115). J.C. subsequently exculpates the hermetic, unwelcoming quality of the Chinese community in France, noting that their attitude results from a superiority complex.³¹ Struggling to comprehend this discrimination against one’s own kind in light of J.C.’s comments, Ly questions these turns of events: Namely, if the Chinese in France and the Francophone Sino-Polynesians from Oceania share the same roots, why is he faced with constant discrimination while in France? Ly is unable to offer a clear answer to this question throughout the autobiography—a question that remains at the heart of his identity crisis abroad.

Given Ly’s differences from the Chinese community in both Tahiti and in France, the author becomes segregated from his ancestral China without having to be in the ancestral land itself. Furthermore in Tahiti, the Chinese would distance themselves

³¹ I am referring here to the community of “pure” Chinese having moved directly to France from the Chinese mainland.

from Ly precisely because he would affiliate himself as a Francophone Sino-Polynesian author. Ly's self-identification as such consequently renders him doubly marginalized in his homeland.³² Yet seemingly, if, as Timothy Macklem suggests by alluding to Lacan's appraisals of hierarchy, "the achievement of identity for anyone entails the enforcement of nonidentity upon someone else, or more properly, upon something that might have been someone else but for that act of enforcement," then Ly's inability to proffer an identitary status in the face of "other" Chinese individuals in France or Tahiti is linked to his mapping a native Chinese identity onto his oppressors (Macklem 84). Because those "other" Chinese impute a nonidentity onto Ly by casting him as different from their own kind, they reassert their ancestral Chinese-ness, while Ly's veritable subjectivity as a Francophone Sino-Polynesian becomes problematized and called into question. According to this logic, Ly would have to deny his oppressors' shared native Chinese identity to regain and to reassert his Francophone Sino-Polynesian identity—an act that Ly rightly refuses in order to avoid practices of intra-ethnic discrimination.

Similarly to Kim's experience with *kimchi*, Ly is able to stabilize his identity not by enforcing a nonidentity vis-à-vis his own Chinese kind. Rather, such an assertion of his *Hakka* status derives from tempering his alterity through the consumption of his native land's foodstuff. Eating native food while away from the native land leads the migrant consumer to exhibit possible sentiments of nostalgia, which leads to resulting psychosomatic and emotive engagements with the homeland. The foodstuff becomes

³² See Ly, *Bonbon soeurette* 125.

imbued with an organic power acting as receptacles of personal memory and affect, and given the human predisposition to want to “recreate the past” by associating affect with past memories, food becomes “symbolic representations of the past” that engender a psychological return to the past within the present (Hirsch, “Nostalgia” 390). It is thus through foodways that Ly regains his indigenous subjectivity in the face of the unfamiliar by virtue of Sino-Polynesian food’s symbolic associations with his nostalgic and calmativ childhood memories.

Whereas Kim’s internalization of *kimchi* brings him nostalgically closer to his ancestral Korean roots, Ly does not consume syrup candies and coconut pies while in France in order to recollect his Polynesian homeland. Epistemically reconstructing the act of consumption, at least in Ly’s case, embodies the same characteristics as food consumption, prompting the same psychosomatic responses as does actual consumption. Ly’s memory of consuming these sweets while a child in Tahiti is triggered by being in certain areas in France that share geographic or spacial similarities with his homeland. For instance, while in Saint-Tropez during a school vacation, an area whose beaches are reminiscent of those in Tahiti, Ly’s memories of his hometown are prompted by the olfactory experience of this southern locale:

[L]a saison de mon premier été de vacances en France s’est confondue depuis toujours avec l’odeur phénoménale de l’Ambre Solaire. Loin de la cuisine familiale, j’avais presque oublié l’odeur âcre, presque bitumeuse de nos poissons ‘*oeo*’ salés, le goût de la sauce ténébreuse au soyou accompagnant le poulet blanc au gingembre et oignon vert, comme celui androgyne, car aigre doux, du canard au tamarin en passant par la saveur inimitable en pelure d’orange de la farce des croustillants ‘*pai pâtés*’ qu’on ne pouvait

acheter que chez le ‘chinois’ des districts (Comme chez Ah Sion dit ‘Faty,’ à Mahina). À la fin de mon intermède méditerranéen, et remontant mélancoliquement en cette fin de septembre sur Paris, j’étais à mille lieux de me douter que ces saveurs et ces odeurs de vacances ressembleraient si fort au goût et au parfum de la liberté, dont j’allais être privé pendant toute l’année scolaire à venir, dans mon bahut parisien. (50)

As if savoring the exotic dishes and sauces of his homeland while in France, Ly nostalgically accesses French Polynesia by associating together memory, odor, and alimentation—all three of which blur the spatio-temporal separations between past/present and near/far.

The foodstuff to which Ly refers in the above passage functions as a synecdoche of his homeland, symbolizing the freedom from which he is deprived as a student in France. Accompanying this passage, Ly reproduces a photograph of a Chinese snack-shop in Tahiti, entitled *Ah Yen’s Snack Bar*, in which patrons are found conversing underneath a French sign “Boissons Gazeuses / Jus de fruits” (51). In effect, this photograph visualizes linguistic and cultural *métisation* between France, China, and French Polynesia in full operation. The untitled photograph below *Ah Yen’s Snack Bar* that depicts an open Tahiti seaport is accompanied by the following caption: “La rade de Papeete: dernière vision de Tahiti qu’emportent tous les voyageurs en partance sur les paquebots” (51). The visual juxtaposition of these two photographs, reflecting the culinary and topographical exoticism represented in the preceding textual passages, corresponds to reified, visual manifestations of Ly’s retrospective memories.

Although Ly evokes his nostalgia in word-form, he is also able to reproduce visual “proofs” or “indexicalities” of his childhood memories by incorporating photographs in his text (see Barthes, *La Chambre claire* 120). These visual proofs become critical components to foodways such that they legitimize an individual’s epistemic recollection of food: The photographs attest to the food’s actual existence at a given past moment, while tying the diasporic consumer to a larger historical context and moral plenitude associative with his or her homeland. In effect for Ly, internalizing such retrospective visual memories of Sino-Polynesian edibles—signifieds of indigenous cultural production—serves the same biological and psychological purposes as the consumption of the actual physical foodstuffs to temper his delocalization.

Ly also evokes another nostalgic episode, which is later accompanied by a photograph embedded within the text. In this passage, he recounts the cold Parisian evenings that would often compel him to spend time at warm cinemas. As a child in Tahiti, Ly would often attend cinematic showings of Occidental films; and during the intermissions, he would exit to buy local sweets, such as syrup candies and coconut pies. Members of the Sino-Polynesian or Chinese community would sell these sweets outside the theater:³³

La grande agitation se renouvelait à l’entracte, où je profitais de
l’indulgence financière des parents pour m’empiffrer de friandises
locales, style pai pâté, banane ou coco, que j’achetais à la sortie chez

³³ The *Hakkas* own most of the businesses in Tahiti, and Tahitian writer Chantal Spitz chooses to include an episode involving a Chinese-run grocery store in *L’Île des rêves écrasés* (129). The *Hakkas* thus manifest themselves in Francophone Sino-Polynesian literature, in indigenous Tahitian literature written in French, as well as in French-language Tahitian comics, via food-related episodes. See, for example, B.D. Gotz.

les marchands ambulants. Disparus depuis, ces derniers offraient à notre convoitise gourmande, mille sortes de bonbons, sœurette, citron ou chinois. (71)

Ly chooses to reproduce the image of his buying sweets on the front cover of *Bonbon sœurette*, which depicts a Chinese food cart vendor selling various pies and candies.

The visuality of this front cover infuses the materiality of the book with a sense of nostalgia: The reader literally holds the memory of the Sino-Polynesian past.

This “cinema episode” finds its literary parallel toward the end of the work where Ly again evokes the nostalgia of Chinese food cart vendors carrying the same coconut stuffing found in breads and pies:

[C]’était le temps des matins calmes de réveil au district, troublés seulement par le chant, [...] des coqs tahitien, et par le tintement matinal de la clochette annonçant la venue de la charrette du Chinois boulanger. [...] Si la délicieuse madeleine de Proust est une réminiscence olfactive purement littéraire, personne ici n’ai encore oublié l’odeur presque charnelle du pain croustillant, à peine défourné des fours chauffés à la bourre de coco, [...] comme de ces pains coco d’une douceur moelleuse de char d’enfant. (137)

Prior to this second mirroring episode, Ly reproduces an actual photograph of a Chinese food cart vendor, thereby establishing another visual counterpart to the previous cinema passage. The photograph’s caption reads: “Qui ne se souvient d’avoir acheté avec gourmandise, bonbons ‘sœurette,’ sirop rouge bien glacé, ou un pai banane à un de ces marchands ambulants chinois aujourd’hui disparus” (128). The disappearance of these Chinese food cart vendors, which Ly symbolically associates with his *Hakka* identity,

mirrors the dwindling population of the minority community in French Polynesia. In this way, Ly intimates the progressive “death” of the Sino-Polynesian ethnicity via the photograph. As Ly returns to French Polynesia, realizing that it was “jamais comme il était auparavant,” the cultural specificities that had prompted the author’s nostalgic memories while in France have tragically vanished (132).

Interpreting the Chinese food carts as photographic referents, one could read them as indexes of ethnic mortality. Susan Sontag’s articulations on the relation between photography and death could assist in assessing the photographic presence of antiquated Chinese food cart vendors in Ly’s novel. Sontag advances that “[p]hotography is the inventory of mortality. [...] Photographs state the innocence, the vulnerability of lives heading toward their own destruction, and this link between photography and death haunts all photographs of people” (70). The photographs of extinct Chinese food cart vendors in French Polynesia are perhaps a *memento mori* reminder for Ly of the ultimate demise of his Sino-Polynesian ethnicity. Reversing the process of ethnocide results from awareness and a motivation to preserve the endangered Sino-Polynesian *Hakka* population in Francophone Oceania, and Ly foregrounds this preservational importance in the form of an autobiography containing a photographic component. Ly’s narration further signifies the importance of dismantling ethnocentric us/them barriers for culturally and ethnically restorative causes.

V. Conclusion: Tastes and Distastes in Asian Francophone Literatures of Canada and Oceania

The identitary difficulties besetting the life of Kim and of Ly in their respective works result from their various *métissages* and interactions with food. Both narrators rely on alimentation to structure, (re)invigorate, access nostalgic memories, and stabilize sentiments of otherness in the face of the unfamiliar. In effect, the author-narrators' differences, which are too often seen as distasteful in the eyes of the Other, subject them to a critical introspection with outcomes enabling them to contain their differences while challenging intra-ethnic tensions. Whether it be blood-red *kimchi* or sweet smelling pies and candies, alimentation and its ritualistic, scripted consumption are transhistorical and transcultural codifiers of ethnic differentiation: Food's historic and cultural significations are linked to individual and collective memory—one accessible by retrospectively reconstructing such a memory within a textual and visual platform. Kim's and Ly's psychosomatic and epistemological relationship with foodways and with their written works symbolizes more largely the authors' rapports with their respective ancestral and native homelands.

Through *Kimchi* and *Bonbon sœurette et pai coco*, the minority fields of both Francophone Asia-Canadian and Asian-Oceanic literatures become an increasingly visible forum wherein the exposure of minority cultural specificities on the backdrop of writing opens new avenues of critical exploration, as well as novel approaches to understanding identity and food politics. If multiculturalism betokens innocuous and conciliatory *métissages* that strive to do away with essentializing binaries, then the

larger implications of Chung's and Ly's works seek to reconstruct and conserve bound-to-be effaced personal and collective identities and to posit, through food consumption, various forms of sociocultural, ethno-racial, and transaesthetic diversities. Although perhaps Chung and Ly continue to struggle with localizing or containing their otherness, one thing remains certain: Their ability to reunite with their roots through food and through their literal consumption while sustaining their bodily engagements with the unfamiliar environments around them invites readers to recognize that identity formation may begin—among all places—in the mouth.

As this analysis proceeds into the next chapter, which historicizes the Japanese presence in New Caledonia and examines Dany Dalmayrac's novel *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, readers can ascertain how the process of consumption—both literal and figurative—is a co-constitutive component to a *métis* migrant's identity stability. Much like Chung's and Ly's author-narrators, Dalmayrac's protagonist incorporates an internalized element that sets the somber tone of *Les sentiers de l'espoir*. For Dalmayrac this “consumed” material is not a food item but the metaphysical experience of trauma stemming from settler colonial violence. Vicariously through the narrator, the reader in many ways bears witness to the traumatic experiences of the Japanese New Caledonians that Dalmayrac describes in his autofiction. Furthermore, the sense of place-based delocalization experienced by Dalmayrac's protagonist and his *métisse* daughter, underwritten by an active internalization of trauma and alterity, points to a larger continuity of shared suffering across oceans. This shared trauma and othering experienced by East Asians residing in both Melanesia and North America are thus not

relegated to colonial contexts but operate in more contemporary East Asiatic settings, as witnessed in Chung's and Ly's novels.

Chapter III:
**Francophone Japanese New Caledonians: Forgotten Histories of
Incarceration and Nippo-Kanak *Métissages***

*Évoquer l'histoire, pour moi, c'est plus qu'un
devoir de mémoire, c'est un devoir du sang,
au nom de ces ancêtres et de ceux qui,
dans le monde kanak, les ont sauvés.*

— Dany Dalmayrac (“La densité de l’histoire” 12)

I. Introduction

This chapter first retraces the collective history of Japanese New Caledonians starting in 1892 until 1945 and offers testimonies of indentured Japanese workers and their next-generation family members in New Caledonia. In particular, I follow the familial histories of various Nippo-Kanaks before moving to an analysis of Nippo-Kanak author Dany Dalmayrac’s *Les sentiers de l’espoir* that offers an autofictional presentation of this critically neglected aspect of Francophone South Pacific and Japanese history. The methodology behind using personal testimonies conducted via interviews with first- through third-generation Japanese New Caledonians is to frame a larger collective history of Francophone Japanese New Caledonians and to offer a historical context illuminating my close-reading of Dalmayrac’s novel. Such a historiographical and literary examination allows readers

to appraise the sentiments that these minority Japanese subjects harbored vis-à-vis the French and Kanak populations at the turn of the twentieth century. This analysis furthermore places import on the role that *métis* Japanese New Caledonian youth played in the transmission of a Kanak-influenced Japanese culture in the Francophone South Pacific. In this context, this chapter avers that the Japanese migrants' assimilation to New Caledonia, operating under a concurrent indigenous New Caledonian (or Kanak) and French presence, was defined by settler colonial treatment. The French Empire hired voluntary Japanese migrants as indentured laborers working in the nickel mines; however, what was initially supposed to be an ethical treatment of the Japanese quickly turned into one defined by settler colonial violence.

The concurrent subjection of both Kanaks and Japanese under French rule in New Caledonia defined and triangulated these three groups' relations. Despite the Japanese's mistreatment at the hands of the French in New Caledonia, the French noted the efficacy of the Japanese in the nickel mines. Much like the growing successes in business attributed to Japanese Americans, those Japanese New Caledonians who elected to remain on the Melanesian island ultimately integrated themselves into New Caledonian society. Japanese New Caledonians carved out a relatively economically stable lifestyle alongside Kanaks and the French. However, despite the short-lived prosperity of the Japanese community in New Caledonia, the French became increasingly threatened by the economic successes of this Asiatic

minority on which the French Empire had ironically relied for purposes of exporting nickel to France.

After the bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, the French colonists in New Caledonia resorted to brute force, similar to that used in the nickel mines, to uproot all Japanese men from their residences. To historicize this expulsion through various primary sources, I advance that the Japanese migration to New Caledonia fundamentally served as a classified military strategy to implant a growing Japanese presence throughout New Caledonia and the Francophone South Pacific. The interaction between Kanaks and Japanese migrants, notably male subjects who would be *mis en concubinage* with indigenous Melanesian women, would produce *métis(se)* Nippo-Kanak offspring whose presence would serve as the ultimate counter-colonial force vis-à-vis the French Empire in New Caledonia. French imperialism subjected both Kanaks and Japanese to Eurocentrist colonial power structures. However, the access that French colonialism had on both Kanak and Japanese populations was problematized by the biological offspring that these two different minority groups produced within and outside of marriage.

Dalmayrac's autofictional text sheds light on these power structures by following the life of a *métisse* Nippo-Kanak who witnesses the traumatic deportation of her own Japanese father. Specifically, I will closely read portions of *Les sentiers de l'espoir* to examine how the work's narration engages in what Stevan Weine calls a "process of witnessing" (168). Namely, Dalmayrac's narration

recounts the traumas and tribulations experienced by Japanese New Caledonians, which invites readers to bear witness to the minority's suffering in a text that sheds light on Japanese New Caledonian history. I will also comment on how the novel describes the transferal and inevitable reconfiguration of the Japanese culture passed onto *métis* Nippo-Kanak children by their deported Japanese fathers.

Highlighting the role that *métis(se)* children played within the French colonial enterprise has been at the heart of recent scholarship in Postcolonial Studies.³⁴ Engaging the Postcolonial field, Dalmayrac's novel pays particular attention to the status of Nippo-Kanak children and the difficulties that they faced. In this regard, the offspring of Kanaks and the Japanese were qualified as "apatride" or stateless in the eyes of the French. Statelessness would entail maintaining no legal ties to French, Kanak, or Japanese citizenry; that is, Nippo-Kanaks were regarded as stateless subjects by virtue of their *métissage*. The stateless liminality experienced by Nippo-Kanaks, as recounted by Dalmayrac, posed an epistemic threat against French colonialism. As this chapter advances, the expansionist anti-Japanese colonial French presence across New Caledonia was ultimately undermined by the "apatride" Nippo-Kanak *métis(ses)* who passed down a Nippo-Kanak culture to future generations. It was ultimately these *métis* and the Japanese culture that the French, as Dalmayrac's novel suggests, sought to eradicate in the first place. *Les sentiers de l'espoir* thus places import on the racial tensions between

³⁴ See, for instance, Pomfret.

Nippo-Kanaks and French colonists, as well as the boundary anxieties exhibited by the French vis-à-vis the seemingly pathologized Nippo-Kanaks. The undermining of the French colonists' effort to eradicate the Japanese New Caledonian cultural presence in Melanesia can be attributed to the fact that mixed-raced Nippo-Kanak children posed a threat to the full-blood, mono-racial prestige associated with the French colonial project in the South Pacific (Pomfret 246).

In effect, the French Empire's decision to deport nearly all Japanese from New Caledonia to Australia stems from the Metropole's fear that the Japanese, having successfully attacked Pearl Harbor, would ultimately challenge the French Empire's hold over New Caledonia through aerial and submarine bombardment.³⁵ Yet, the Nippo-Kanaks—most of whom were children when torn away from their Japanese fathers—posed an existential threat to the French due to (1) the inevitable anti-French, anti-colonial sentiments felt by the mixed-race Japanese population and (2) their unique positions as children. As David Pomfret notes:

The problem of the abandoned [half Asian] child also demanded urgent attention, especially as indigenous anticolonial nationalism took shape against the backdrop of the looming Japanese threat. [...] They [half Asian children] posed a challenge [...] not least since their presence threatened the elaborate but fragile sets of subjective criteria by which 'whiteness' was defined. (8-9)

³⁵ The Japanese subsequently bombed northern Australia, approximately two months after Pearl Harbor, at Darwin Harbor, on 19 February 1942.

Although Pomfret specifically examines the Eurasian child, his assertion is equally valid as it pertains to Nippo-Kanak children in the South Pacific.³⁶ The pathologization of the Nippo-Kanaks, regarded as an anti-colonial threat to Metro-centric nationalism, endangered the Japanese community's own presence in New Caledonia. In an effort to appease this threat, the French Empire resorted to extreme measures—the planned murdering of Nippo-Kanak children in various areas of New Caledonia—to remove the transgressive mixed-race presence from the island.

II. The History of the Japanese in New Caledonia

*Pour comprendre mon travail,
il faut comprendre l'histoire Nippo-Kanak en Calédonie.*

— Dalmayrac (2016)

Among the many Asian migrants who came to New Caledonia, the Indians were the first on the island, followed by the Chinese in 1884 who worked for the SLN (Société le Nickel). The Vietnamese came thereafter, along with the Javanese and Japanese, intermixing with the indigenous Melanesians, producing veritable *métissages* of Kanak-Asian sub-cultures. John Connell notes that

New Caledonia was not the only colony in the South Pacific to experience Asian migration but it was the first. More than a decade before Indian workers were taken to Fiji, there were Indians in New Caledonia [coming] originally from French colonies, such as

³⁶ Nippo-French children were known to have coexisted alongside Nippo-Kanak children, in particular in schools; however, their interactions were quite limited, as recounted to me by Kanak tribal elder, Valentine Tiéval, resident of Thio, New Caledonia.

Pondicherry, but were recruited in Réunion, the West Indies or French Guiana. (95)

The majority of the Indian population left New Caledonia for Australia after the collapse of the sugar-cane industry in 1882. By 1897, New Caledonia was largely beset with labor problems stemming from the decreasing populaces of outside labor, as well as from the “establishment of Brazil as a major world coffee producer. [...] This in turn led to a decline in free migration to New Caledonia [whereby] the European population fell steadily for the first two decades of the twentieth century” (Connell 95). In this regard, the SLN employed Melanesians from the Neo-Hebrides (present day Vanuatu); however, the number of Melanesians, similar to the Indians’, began to decrease after the indigenous subjects became subject to colonizer abuse. Foreign immigration into New Caledonia was suspended from 1882 to 1883 and then again from 1885 to 1890 (Bencivengo 216).³⁷ The mistreatment of Melanesians at the hands of the French Empire, as well as the negative regard that the French had of the indigenous populace, prevented any more migratory waves of Melanesian workers from entering the ever-growing nickel mining industry.

Yet, with the surge in nickel production in 1880, the French Empire turned toward Chinese indentured laborers to work the nickel mines. The SLN hired 166 Chinese coolies, via Singapore, in 1884 for a contracted duration of five years.

³⁷ France’s primary interest in New Caledonia was linked to the archipelago’s rich resources in nickel, cobalt, gold, and leather. It was starting in 1875 that these raw materials were exported to Paris through the Parisian company, SLN.

However, the Chinese workers were deemed equally unfit and ill-prepared to work within the SLN (Bencivengo 216). As a result, the SLN sent the vice president of the SLN, Maurice Bigillion, to China in order to negotiate for Chinese indentured servants. Faced with other Empires' concurrent searches for Asian coolies, as well as with the internal administrative difficulties from within the French Empire that made hiring Chinese indentured servants not bound for French Indochina nearly impossible, Bigillion was unable to recruit any coolies from China and thus turned to China's neighbor: Japan (Bencivengo 217).

An encounter at the Japanese consulate in Hong Kong on March 1890 transpired between Bigillion and representatives from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shuzo Aoki. There, Bigillion explained to Aoki that upon the French colonization of New Caledonia in 1853, the indigenous Kanak people had refused to submit to French colonialist demands of physical labor, engendering a series of deadly riots between the Kanaks and French for a decade. There existed a divisive interaction between the colonized and colonizer in New Caledonia, the latter's primary colonial interest being the exploitation of the island's nickel resources. Since the 1860s, the majority of Kanaks refused to work for those who ridded them of their lands or for those who proposed to them insufficient salaries. Moreover, the Kanaks, as warrior-men having no ties to economic capitalism and as men associated with purely agricultural work, had neither the desire nor the motivation to work for the French colonizers. The Kanaks were employed by the colonizers, but progressively as there was a decrease in need for their help, the

Kanak numbers dwindled in both the labor force and general population (Angleviel, “De l’engagement” 66).

To establish a more conciliatory relationship with the Kanaks, the French colonial government remunerated the indigenous New Caledonians; however, the French’s efforts to placate the bellicose Kanaks failed. The dwindling population of Kanaks, from 42,500 in 1887 to only 28,000, coupled with the rising demand of foreign raw resources in France, prompted the French colonial government in Nouméa to seek desperately the help of foreign indentured servants (Logan 19). The critically declining population of indigenous Kanaks, powerless in the face of the French colonial government, was forcibly marginalized in their own society. The territory that had once belonged to the Kanaks was usurped by the colonial regime, which made making territorial reclamations vis-à-vis France (and other foreign persons) an impossibility. The Kanak presence had reached an alarming low by the beginning of the twentieth century. As Kanak leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou affirms, “[t]he tribes had nothing to do but die because there was nothing left to eat because there were no people left to work at growing things to eat” (qtd. in Logan 19). The oppressive colonial regime, believing that the natives were unable to become ideal by-products of their *mission civilisatrice*, crippled the indigenous population through a system of “legalized segregation” until 1946, at which point the ancient colonial regime was modified to let Kanaks obtain French citizenship and reclaim their lost territories (Findley 47).

With regards to the French regime's search for foreign indentured servants, Bigillion's executive meeting with Aoki in Hong Kong in May 1890 was initially unfruitful. The austere working conditions, contract length, and meager remunerations for volunteer Japanese migrant workers was non-negotiable (Bencivengo 217).³⁸ In 1891 the SLN replaced Bigillion with François Lüscher, who was tasked with recruiting coolies to work in New Caledonia. Lüscher's plan, following Bigillion's idea to consider Japan, ultimately brought in the successful waves of migration that the SLN and the French Empire had been seeking. The subsequent intervention of Takeaki Enomoto, who authorized a favorable contract between New Caledonia and Japan, allowed for the initial diplomatic and political "ties" between these two nations to transpire in 1892. Enomoto's reasoning to approve of the Japanese-New Caledonian working contract, notwithstanding the legal strictures that would preclude such a diplomatic connection, was linked to a collective sentiment of benevolence vis-à-vis France and New Caledonia. Enomoto notes, "Cette émigration était présentée comme une expérience susceptible de venir en aide aux pauvres. Mais si elle devait échouer, cela aurait des répercussions considérables sur le gouvernement" (qtd. in Kobayashi 63).

Recruitment toward a hitherto unknown New Caledonia, which operated under the auspices of the private Japanese recruitment company *Nihon Yoshisa Imin*

³⁸ In 1890, the duration of contractual and volunteer indentured servitude in New Caledonia was proposed to be five years; however, according to Japanese law at the time, the maximum duration of foreign labor contracts could not surpass 365 days (Kutsuki 16).

Gaisha began. It is believed that the immigration recruitment company was used by the Japanese government to alleviate an over-population problem that Japan faced toward the end of the nineteenth century (Bencivengo 219). In this regard, the minor hermit state of Japan, opening its doors to the West in the 1868 Meiji Restoration, entered the world scene with aplomb: The Japanese naval victory at Tsushima against the Russian forces on 27 May 1905 allowed for a reimagining of Japan as militaristic and dominant (Kawakami 54). After the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty on 5 September 1905, which terminated the Russo-Japanese war, prompting Russia to affirm Japan's "paramount political, military, and economic interest" in foreign nations, Japan's autarkic imperial expansionism, underwritten by a motivation to reassert its national identity, led to its ultimate collapse (Adachi 82). Prior to Japan's progressive decay of idealistic liberalism in 1945 in the face of the United States, the Japanese government was faced with a growing population problem and a lack of cultivatable domestic land—both factors that threatened its own powers to expand its empire in Asia. Accordingly, the Japanese government imposed on its citizens strictures regulating childbirth, and the rapid industrialization of Japanese society was geared to support an exponentially growing population from 1872 to 1934. In sixty years, the Japanese population rose from thirty-three to sixty-seven million people (Zischnka 52, 293).

Given domestic overpopulation, the Japanese government saw it necessary to alleviate this problem by offering incentives for its citizens to migrate to various areas beyond the Pacific, in particular to the Americas, Australia, Africa, and the

Middle East, with the intention of channeling Japanese culture to foreign nations. Heavily influenced by Paul Leroy-Beaulieu's seminal work, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (1874), Enomoto Takeaki, serving as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1891, qualified voluntary indenture servitude in an outside nation as a latent form of colonization and imperial expansionism (Palombo, "Immigration japonaise" 92). Although it is contentious that the Japanese imperial government regarded labor migrations as a means to panasiatic expansionism with the ultimate objective of colonizing New Caledonia, there remains evidence of a possible thwarted Japanese occupation of New Caledonia (Michel).

The primary reason for which many of the Japanese were regarded as spies by the French was precisely linked to the French's own concern that spies were planted among the immigrants who would survey the lands and provide maps of strategic locations that would undermine French colonial power:

Ces dernières dépêches annoncent que des espions japonais infestent à l'heure actuelle, la Nouvelle-Calédonie, sous prétexte de travaux de mines. Il est dit que ces hommes travaillent quelques temps sur les mines et s'en vont ensuite voyager à travers le pays qu'ils étudient à fond et dont ils notent les moindres particularités. (Daly 18)

There exists two major pieces of evidence to this day of the Japanese colonial presence in New Caledonia. The first of which can be found in the Japanese section of the Nouméa Cemeteries: A commemorative monument was erected for the 97 Japanese submariners whose submarine, the I-17, was destroyed by New Zealand and American forces near Amédée Island (near Nouméa). The presence of a

Japanese military submarine approximately ten miles away from Nouméa leads one to question the apparent motives behind this submarine's strategic placement just outside the capitol city. In addition to this monument, there still exists a copy of a Japanese-language map of Nouméa, New Caledonia, that marks various strategic points of entry into the capitol city. This rare Japanese map of Nouméa constitutes the second major piece of evidence.



Fig. 1. Monument dedicated to the crew of the I-17.

Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland

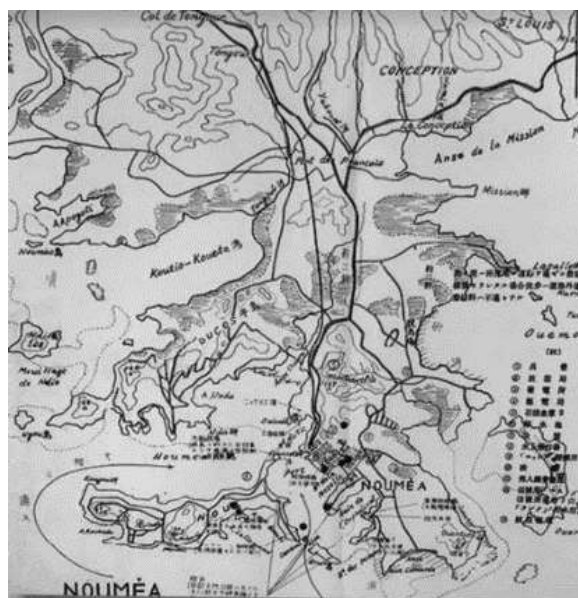


Fig. 2. Japanese map of Nouméa, New Caledonia, marking strategic points.

Coll. Philippe Palombo

Although the plausibility that a wealth of Japanese spies were operating on the island cannot be denied, this number cannot overshadow the large number of

emigrants from Japan to New Caledonia in the 1890s. In this regard, there were initially 599 Japanese male emigrants from Kumamoto between the ages of twenty-five and thirty who left the Port of Nagasaki on board the *Hiroshima Maru* arriving in Thio, New Caledonia, on 6 January 1892. These Japanese migrants who were directly unaffiliated with the Japanese government came to Thio with the prospect of working in the nickel mines and distancing themselves from Japan's socioeconomic problems (Kutsuki 17).

The first wave of migratory workers were met with unfavorable working conditions, and their unwillingness to subordinate themselves to the strict working policies set by the SLN landed approximately forty workers in prison (Kobayashi 63, 71). Kiichiro Nawa, an emigrant from Gifu, Japan, who was employed at the Bornet mine in Thio, describes the working conditions at the time:

Sous le chaud soleil tropical, notre travail était de huit heures par jour, et consistait à utiliser une sorte de Pioche pour b cher la terre rouge tre. Couverts de poussi re et de sueur: c' taient les durs travaux de la mine en plein air. Beaucoup de mes compagnons abandonnaient, tombaient malades, et il y en avait m me qui s' chappaient. [...] La ration alimentaire  tait copieuse, mais les autres conditions de vie  taient  pouvantables. Il n'y avait pas de salle de bains. Lorsque nous avons sign  le contrat, il nous avait  t  promis un lit et une personne par chambre. En fait, nous  tions trente   quarante personnes par pi ce et sans lit. L'odeur  tait souvent intol rable. Nous  tions trait s comme des animaux et cela ne pouvait durer plus longtemps. (qtd. in Tsuda, * mes errantes* 39)

Nawa echoed the many letters that were sent back to Japan, and these letters alarmed the families of the unsuccessful Nippon acclimation in New Caledonia. In

1892, these letters, in which the laborers implored their families to have the Japanese parliament furnish an executive order to void their contracts, made their way to Kodama Nakaji, deputy liaison between the government and the private recruitment company *Nihon Yoshisa Imin Gaisha*.³⁹

Subsequently, concerned about the safety of its volunteer migrants, the recruitment company sent General Ono Yaichi to New Caledonia to survey the situation. Perhaps with the intention of avoiding the lawsuits, Yaichi censored the visible mistreatment of Japanese workers in his report, exclaiming:

[T]ous les émigrés ont demandé de suspendre leur travail et de rentrer dans leur pays pour les deux raisons suivantes: la difficulté du travail et l'état des chemins trop raides menant à leurs lieux de travail. À cette occasion [...] onze émigrés ont été envoyés en prison à Nouméa. [Les émigrés] se connaissent de mieux en mieux les Français, ce qui leur permet de travailler sans problème. (qtd. in Kobayashi 62)

The uproar that Yaichi's response created, given that his account and the Japanese workers' testimonies were diametrically opposed, prompted the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Enomoto Takeaki, who was initially responsible for creating Nippo-New

³⁹ The possibility that the private Japanese immigration recruitment agencies had maintained direct ties with the imperial government cannot be ruled out, particularly given that "[i]n 1917, the Japanese government consolidated all emigration companies into one big company called the *Kaigai Kougyou Kabushiki Gaisha* (Overseas Development Corporation) to systematize and centralize the recruitment and management of migrants" (Fresnoza-Flot 74). The association that the *Nihon Yoshisa Imin Gaisha* would have with the imperial Japanese government would place credence on the idea that the government could have inserted military spies among the migrants.

Caledonian diplomacy, to send administrative attaché Senda Ichijuro to New Caledonia for an official government audit.

Nawa's eye-witness testimony, differing greatly from Yaichi's report, underscored the problematic social, disciplinary, and working conditions described by the Japanese workers. In particular, the SLN's mistreatment of migrant workers was deemed too unethical by Japanese working standards; however, the Japanese government was unable to intervene on behalf of the migrant workers, given that the indentured servants were still bound by a signed, nonnegotiable contract with France (Bencivengo 220). The Minister of Japanese Foreign Affairs thus demanded that the recruitment company *Nihon Yoshisa Imin Gaisha* intervene with the SLN to ameliorate workers' conditions.

Pressured by the possibility that its reputation may suffer long-term consequences by not being able to ship mineral resources to Paris, the SLN permitted all Japanese workers to return to Japan. By 1897, five-hundred sixty-nine of the six hundred migrant workers returned to their families in Japan, twenty-three perished due to sickness, and eight chose to stay (Kutsuki 16-7).⁴⁰ Yet, I cite with caution the validity of these numerical figures because many of the Japanese migrants—including Denzo Higa, the Japanese migrant whose testimony lies at the

⁴⁰ According to Robert Fouque, "[i]l est regrettable que l'autorité n'ait pas accordé une certaine protection ni pris la décision de favoriser l'émigration familiale. Cela aurait permis à près de mille familles japonaises de s'installer sur place pour travailler dans l'agriculture, augmentant et stabilisant de ce fait leur intégration, même sans l'envisager à une grande échelle comme ce fut le cas aux États-Unis" (qtd. in Kutsuki 12).

heart of Mustumi Tsuda's recent work *Âmes Errantes*—chose to escape their workplace as contracted laborers to hide in the rural areas of New Caledonia, intermingling with Kanaks and setting up small businesses as fisherman and farmers. It is said that approximately 643 Japanese migrants between 1892 and 1911 deserted the harsh laborer lifestyle to escape into the Caledonian countryside (Dalmayrac "Japonais" 6). Other Japanese who were formerly coolies, also moved outside of Nouméa at the expiration of their five-year contract to smaller villages to begin a new life as fishermen, businessmen, and farmers. The relationships between Kanaks and Japanese were regarded for the most part very favorably among all the Kanak clans (Tiéval).

The presence of the French in these areas would typically not threaten the Japanese themselves, as the French were said to have become "de très bons amis" with the hard-working Japanese migrants not of coolie status (Morioka).



Fig. 3. Takei Thiozo. A rare photograph in which Japanese non-coolie workers and the French are seen together sharing a meal at the residence of the prosperous merchant Mr. Tsutsui. Takei's father, Thiozo, can be found in the second standing row, seventh from the right.

Coll. Adéline Morioka

Accordingly, the first-wave of Japanese migrant workers' arrival to New Caledonia was more disastrous for both French and Japanese parties than a shared utilitarian success. The Japanese workers failed to assimilate to the Francophone nation because of the hegemonic colonial structure that saw them on equal field as the indigenous Kanak.

The concurrent subjection of the Japanese and Kanak was coupled with the reality that both ethnic groups occupied the role of the colonized while the Japanese nevertheless maintained some degrees of political leverage over the French prior to 7 December 1941, given (1) the Japanese migrants' ability to either repatriate or

appeal to Japanese officials for limited protection and (2) the dwindling population of Kanaks stemming from settler colonialism. In essence, the French colonial regime exploited the Japanese by settler colonial force and by intentionally misguided promises given to the private Japanese migration companies. The French's utilitarian motivation for economic and sociopolitical gains by exploiting Caledonian resources via Japanese workers is halted, as many Japanese laborers would immediately choose to depart from New Caledonia through imperial intervention.

After 1919, Japanese migrants, free from colonializing fetters, were able to establish what could be seen as favorable diplomatic and trading ties between Japan and France to the extent that, upon their return to Japan, “they began to speak in French,” thereby exposing an alien French language and culture to Japanese citizens (Papin 85). The newspaper *La France Australe* had even described in 1920, “Sans les Japonais, il y aurait belle lurette que nous n’aurions plus de légumes d’aucune sorte” (qtd. in Palombo *La presence japonaise* 124). Similarly, the Japanese began to introduce “certain products to New Caledonia, among many things matches and materials for fireworks. They [did] not drink wine; [...] they [were] content with their rice and dried fish prepared *à la japonaise*” (Papin 179). Prior to the Second World War, the importation of specific products from Japan was one of the notable means through which New Caledonian society was enriched by the co-presence of Japanese and French sociocultural influences on Kanak soil.

Despite their exposure to both Japanese and French influences, the Kanaks appropriated more of the French value systems, including linguistic and sociocultural influences, than those of the Japanese. As confirmed by Valentine Tiéval, although the Japanese were often *mis en concubinage* with the eldest Kanak daughter of an area's tribal leader who would give birth to *métis* Nippo-Kanak children, the Japanese influence never infiltrated the Kanak cultural sphere:

Même quand il y avait une Kanak qui était la concubine d'un Japonais, la présence culturelle japonaise ne se voyait guère jamais au sein de sa tribu. Pourquoi? Quand une Kanak part en concubinage avec un Japonais, elle n'est plus une femme de la tribu. Elle part loin de chez elle sans complètement dénoncer le fait qu'elle soit autochtone. Elle garde toujours des liens émotionnels avec sa tribu. Il y avait toujours le même problème entre une femme de tribu et un Japon, c'était la langue. Les Japonais ne parlaient pas français. Apparemment c'était la langue d'amour qui les unissait vu le nombre de Nippo-Kanaks qui marchaient sur terre. (Tiéval)⁴¹

By 1933, among the approximately 1,110 Japanese workers, 20 of them married Kanak women, while 107 of them lived *en concubinage* with Kanak/Melanesian, Javanese, and/or Indochinese women. Additionally, 20 Japanese workers married European women. Approximately, 24 of the 1,110 became naturalized French citizens, the first of whom was Shibata Heizo, born in 1887 in Fukushima (Palombo "Immigration japonaise" 95). Although a rare case, there were certain Japanese men who married

⁴¹ There are noted exceptions whereby Kanak women and/or Nippo-Kanak children would return to their Kanak clans.

Kanaks.⁴² It was in Nouméa that one observed most (but not all) marriages between Japanese and French, though this was similarly a rare occurrence.

The Kanaks would be proud of their *concubinage*—or for some, their marriages—with Japanese men, and there was mostly no opposition by clan leaders to their daughter’s leaving the clan with Japanese men, given that the Japanese had already established their reputation as diligent workers in the eyes of both the Kanaks and the French (Tiéval). As Dalmayrac further underscores:

Quelque part, l’alliance, légitime, naturelle ou simplement amoureuse entre le Japonais et la femme kanak (indigène, autochtone) est celle qui a produit le plus fort métissage au sein de la communauté japonaise de Nouvelle-Calédonie. Par ailleurs, beaucoup de femmes, européennes, indonésiennes, indiennes et autres, n’étaient pas insensibles à la perspective d’épouser un Japonais, de vivre avec lui et d’avoir des enfants tant la réputation de cet Asiatique était bonne. (“Japonais” 6)

One notable case is the marriage between Otojiro Nakamura and his Kanak wife Marie Anne Wamytan, incidentally related by marriage to Dalmayrac.⁴³ Nakamura was born in Hiroshima, Japan, on 15 March 1891, and came to Thio, ultimately finding his place in Caledonian society as a rice-field farmer.⁴⁴ He met Wamytan, from Saint-Louis, New Caledonia, born 7 July 1905, and subsequently wedded her, having seven children. According to the law, the French government stipulated that in all marriages—with

⁴² See Photographic Dossier.

⁴³ Kanaks initially had one name, the name given to them from within the clan. However, with the arrival of colonialism and French Catholicism, priests would allow the Kanaks to keep their tribal name as their last name while providing them with a new, individualized first name. This was not the case with French Protestants, who did not impose European names on Kanak converts (Nakamura).

⁴⁴ Although the French predominately hired the Japanese to work in the nickel mines, Japanese coolies laborers were also employed to work in the rice fields.

paperwork being filed with the government—the wife must take the husband’s nationality. Wamytan was thus recognized as a Japanese citizen by virtue of her marriage. It is for this reason that, on many identification forms found in the New Caledonian national archives, Kanak women have “nipponaise” or “japonaise” listed under nationality.⁴⁵

This Japanese citizenry was granted by the French Empire but officially unrecognized by the Japanese government (Nakamura). Knowing the imminent fate of the Japanese in New Caledonia, Nakamura decided to renounce his Japanese citizenship and became a French national.⁴⁶ His daughter, Sophie Nakamura, explains:

Notre père avait été prévenu quelques jours à l’avance que les autorités allaient venir le chercher. Il a été interné à l’île Nou et pendant quatre ans il est resté là-bas en résidence surveillée avec les autres Japonais [de nationalité française]. Nous venions le voir tous les dimanches avec maman. Je me rappelle qu’il fabriquait des petits bijoux et d’autres objets avec des restes d’avions américains. Notre mère était chargée de les vendre pour faire bouillir la marmite. (qtd. in Formis 11-12)

His decision to become a French national and Catholic in 1930 ultimately saved his life; depending on the location (with the most notable exception being Koné), the Japanese

⁴⁵ See figure 4.

⁴⁶ According to his daughter, Sophie Nakamura, only approximately 25 Japanese migrants became French citizens. Being of French nationality while Japanese was not grounds for exemption when the French deported the Japanese to Australia. Although most Japanese of French nationality were spared (and sent to observation centers where they were treated more humanely), several Japanese of French citizenry were detained and sent to Australia because they had hidden Japanese flags in their residences. The French military would conduct an extensive search of their homes for any pro-Japanese items (i.e., flags, swords) and use these items as grounds for arrest. Despite being a baptized Catholic, Otojiro Nakamura had kept a small statue of Buddha to remind him of his Japanese family’s Buddhist affiliation. Fortunately, as his daughter recounts, the French officials did not see the hidden statue; otherwise, her father’s fate could have been different (Nakamura).

of French citizenry were spared from being sent to Australian concentration camps. In addition, Nakamura's choice to become French was also strategic. As Nakamura's daughter recounted, "[il voulait] garder la mémoire japonaise de [sa] famille. [...] S'il était japonais, il serait en Australie et il y mourrait comme les autres" (Nakamura). Namely, the importance of keeping the Japanese name and memory within the Nakamura family could have only be possible through Wamytan had Nakamura been sent to Australia. Wamytan, although Japanese by marriage, was Kanak by blood and was thus spared. Nakamura was spared but sent to a more humane observation facility in Nouville. This treatment came even after having been regarded as a potential spy by French military agents.

Nom: **HIGASHI, nee MOSSÉ** N° M^h 672

Prénoms: **Rose** Dr:

Née **1901** à **Natchao (Lifou)**

de **Mosée** et de **Jeza**

Adresse: **19 rue de Rodien**

Nationalité **Nippone** par filiation, mariage, naturalisation

Célibataire, veuf, profession **none**

Mariée à **HIGASHI, Fuyuki** (né le 15.3.1904) N° M^h 673

Née **24 Mars 1890** à **Kumamoto-ken** Nationalité **Nippone**

ENFANTS	NÉE	A	NATIONALITÉ	OBSERVATIONS
André, Mari	29.12.1908	Bourail		
Beluwa, Baptiste	11.11.1916	Noumea		
André, Rose	05.12.1917	162	19.12.1916	

Arrivé le _____ par _____

Adresse antérieure: _____

Passeport N° _____ délivré le _____ à _____

Autorisation N° _____ en date du _____

J.A. Sec. M^h (156 am)
du 17.2.46

Fig.4. Rose Mossé (Higashi).
Folder 34W, National Archives of New Caledonia



Fig. 5. Marie Anne Wamytan. Marie Anne Wamytan is seated next to Otojiro Nakamura (right). She is holding their first child Emmanuel. Standing behind Wamytan is her Franco-Melanesian mother and her cousin.

Coll. Nakamura

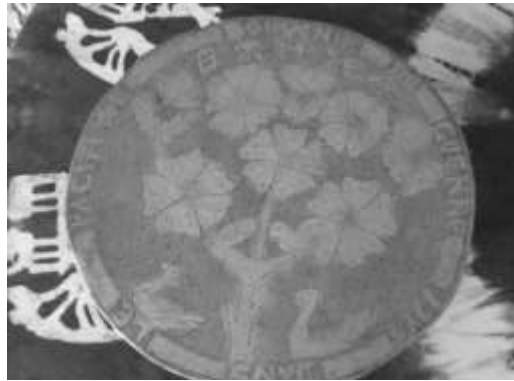


Fig. 6. Nakamura Otojiro’s Japanese artwork.
Object made from discarded parts of American
military planes. Coll. Nakamura

Eventually, like Otojiro Nakamura, Japanese migrant workers in New Caledonia began to carve their place within the country: By 1916, there were approximately three thousand Japanese male migrant workers arriving in New Caledonia:⁴⁷

Year	1892	1901	1911	1916	1918	1921	1929	1931
Number of Japanese Migrants	599	1208	1202	2896	2595	1745	1300	2050

Fig. 7. Table of Japanese immigration. Adapted from Palombo, “Immigration japonaise” 95.

⁴⁷ Although on 23 December 1905, a convoy of sixty women along with 561 men were sent onboard the *Powhatan*—the only convoy admitted to New Caledonia with Japanese women mostly from Okinawa—those who ultimately chose to stay on the archipelago maintained a close, affective proximity not only with the New Caledonian Europeans, but also with the indigenous, tribal Kanak and Melanesian members (Palombo “Immigration japonaise” 96). In addition, the small number of Japanese women sent to New Caledonia was in stark contrast to the number of women sent to Hawai’i in 1890 where Japanese women represented approximately 19% of the migratory Japanese population; this percentage nearly doubled by 1920 when Japanese women represent 46% of the Hawaiian-Japanese populace (Price 108).

On 12 April 1911, recognizing the Japanese who assisted the SLN in maintaining favorable economic gains from which France and New Caledonia benefitted, a diplomatic treaty between France and Japan was signed, allowing the Japanese “les mêmes droits que ceux attribués à tout travailleur libre européen. Ils peuvent donc, à l’issue de leur contrat, s’établir sur tout le territoire pour y exercer des métiers très variés: tailleurs, coiffeurs, forgerons, caféiculteurs, commerçants, etc.” (Palombo, “Japonais” 27).⁴⁸ By 1933, the majority of Japanese migrant workers who chose to remain in New Caledonia not only established prosperous businesses centralized in Nouméa, but also chose to continue an interracial progenitorial lineage in the foreign land with Kanaks (and more rarely with the French).

Consequently, these factors operating within a French colony induced an ethnic “Francification” and “de-Japanization” that involved Japanese emigrants’ appropriating French, embracing the Republican education system for their interracial children, and distancing themselves from their Japanese heritage:

[L’]émigrant japonais en général s’engage dans une véritable reconversion identitaire. Cette résolution correspond à la volonté d’un individu de réunir tous les atouts pour réussir une nouvelle vie lui qui souvent vient d’une région pauvre du Japon. Cette intégration en douceur va, d’ailleurs, s’avérer un atout supplémentaire ultérieurement. Toutefois, on peut noter que les Japonais en transit cohabitent avec la population calédonienne sans s’y intégrer entièrement. (Palombo, “Japonais” 28)

⁴⁸ Palombo observes that “l’émigration japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie a été modeste, n’ayant jamais dépassé 5% de la population (1916) contre 43% à Hawaii (1920)” (“Japonais” 27).

The positive and generative social factors that these “Frencified” Japanese migrant workers contributed to the economic betterment of New Caledonia and the Kanak communities were more than any other minority communities’ on the archipelago.

As one New Caledonian European affirms:

[u]ne dizaine de Japonais, en rupture de contrats passés avec la SLN et la maison Ballande, ont acheté ou loué de petites propriétés. Ce sont des tranquilles et travailleurs qui adoptent vite les mœurs et les habitudes européens. Leur voisinage est cent fois préférable à celui des Arabes. (qtd. in Palombo, *Présence* 173-4)

Eventually the high-regard for the Japanese migrant, despite the inevitable anti-Nippon racism that deemed their presence an invasion, was such that their assimilation within Francophone New Caledonia was without significant problems, despite (1) the French’s latent suspicions that spies were clandestinely hiding among Japanese migrants and (2) the French’s latent jealousy and passive aggressive responses vis-à-vis the Japanese success.

Prior to 7 December 1941, the Japanese in New Caledonia forged a favorable reputation amongst the European settlers and with members of the Melanesian/Kanak communities through interracial marriage and a hard work ethic. Kanaks thus had access to colonial French value systems while cohabitating with a Japanese immigrant, channeling a notably French-Kanak sociocultural influence to their Nippo-Kanak children. This French-Kanak sociocultural transmission would occur even though the father of their children was Japanese. What explained the transmission of colonial French-Kanak sociocultural value and linguistic systems to

the Nippo-Kanak children—and *not* a specifically Nippo-Kanak *métis* value system—was the Japanese fathers' incarceration and subsequent deportation from New Caledonia while their Nippo-Kanak children were only infants. The Nippo-Kanak children's exposure to the culture of their Japanese father was never made possible because their absent fathers had already been deported to Australia as prisoners-of-war.

Even after the Second World War, the French Empire categorically refused to entertain the pleas of Japanese fathers to reunite with their families in New Caledonia who were anxiously awaiting their return. A petition sent by Morio Anyei, compound leader of the Loveday prisoner-of-war camp, to the Minister of External Affairs in Canberra shows the list of 29 prisoners who, at the end of the Second World War, did not elect to return to Japan, but instead desired to return to their families and their properties in New Caledonia.⁴⁹ What the Japanese did not realize was that not only would the French Empire ignore such requests, but also their properties had already been ceased and/or resold. Often, the Kanak wives would have secretly changed partners, which constitutes one of the main reasons for which Kanaks and French families have remained mum about their Japanese familial histories. As for these wives and their descendants, admitting that they had abandoned their Japanese husbands or partners would bring them guilt and shame (Tiéval and Nakamura). In fact, an archived report from the United States

⁴⁹ See figure 8.

Intelligence Office in Nouméa shows that many of the wives or concubines actively sought other partners after the deportation of their Japanese husbands.

However, French officials remarked that these women were often the former wives or concubines of Japanese spies. These revelations placed these women on watch-lists with information compiled by both French and American authorities. One of the archived files, entitled “White Poppy” and sent to the Director of United States Naval Intelligence in 1942, included the following:

Mme. Perraud, née Besse, the wife of an officer in the Fighting French forces now in Libya, was the mistress of Ishido, an engineer of the Société Minière de l’Océanie, and considered to be an agent of the Japanese Intelligence Service. When Ishido’s property was seized, a book was found containing information regarding the defense of New Caledonia.

Mme. Larocque, née Chodzo, (according to reports believed to be reliable) was the mistress of Iba, also a Japanese engineer in the Société Minière de l’Océanie. Iba was considered to be the chief agent in Nouméa of the Japanese Intelligence Service. She is employed by the Nickel Co. (Train 21)

This evidence would attribute a certain reputation to these women and their families. In particular, this pro-Japanese military association would extend to their *métis* children, who would ultimately be the ones living with the consequences set in place by their parents’ relations through marriage or *concubinage*. The cultural *métissage* manifested by Nippo-Kanak children is of great import, given that that the types of *métissages*—linguistic, social, and cultural—with which these mixed-raced children were confronted hardly involved any exposure to or influence from

the Japanese culture. This non-exposure is due to the separation from their fathers occurring at such a young age.

To the Minister For The
External Affairs,
Canberra.

INVESTIGATION BRANCH
CANBERRA
12 FEB 1946
Reg No. 67

13 51736 ASINI Morio,
Compound Leader,
No. 14 C Internment Camp,
 Loveday, South Australia.
31st January, 1946.

Dear Sir,
Herewith I am submitting you with the list of applicants who desire to return to New Caledonia under the following reasons which I trust will meet your kind consideration and approval.
The reasons are as follows:-
(1) Those marked as "Yes" in the column "Families" desire to be reunited with their only families in this world.
(2) All of them do not desire to return to Japan. They desire to stay at New Caledonia which they made as their only place to dwell in.
(3) All desire to see their own property and resume the old job.

Reg. No.	Name in full.	Age.	Pre-war address.	Years in the old place.	Families.	Occupation.	Remarks.
22409	SAKAI Saburo	59	Hagen, Tarfakade, New Caledonia.	30 years	Yes	Coffee-plantation	
22452	NAKASAKI Ushi	68	Hagen, Waiva, N.C.	30 "	Yes	Coffee-plantation	
22445	IMAMI Matsuburo	58	Valle de Numa, N.C.	35 "	Yes	Merchant	
22427	INADA Susaki	63	Yoro, N.C.	36 "	Yes	Farmer	
22474	YODA Hideo	54	Yoh, Compo, N.C.	37 "	Yes	Farmer	
22472	NAKAWA Soehiko	67	Ooro, Noumea N.C.	40 "	Yes	Cook	
22416	YONAI Kenzo	56	George Clemenceau N.C.	29 "	Yes	Tailor	
22414	YUOHARA Tatsuki	54	Yoh, New Caledonia	29 "	Yes	Merchant	
22413	YOSHIMOTO Tetsuki	48	Yoh, New Caledonia	29 "	Yes	Miner	
22419	YOSHIMOTO Yohio	52	Magenta New Caledonia	29 years	Yes	Farmer	
22415	HAZENAWA Jitsutaro	72	Kono, New Caledonia	30 years	No	Merchant	
22408	KATO Eusutaro	64	Yoh, Noumea N.C.	32 "	No	Merchant	
22415	YOKUDA Kohichi	52	Kono, New Caledonia	31 "	Yes	Farmer	
22412	YUJIN Tetsuki	54	Kono, New Caledonia	30 "	Yes	Miner	
22413	Hoe Heizo	54	Kono, N.C.	32 "	Yes	Merchant	
22422	OTOO Sutekichi	56	Canala, New Cal.	32 "	Yes	Farmer (Owner Coffee-plantation)	
22421	MAKIMOTO Ichimatsu	71	Valle de Gologe N.C.	32 "	Yes	Farmer	
22445	YOSHITANI Tetsuki	63	Kono N.C.	32 "	Yes	Coffee plantation	
22456	YOSHIMURA Kimita	59	Yoh N.C.	29 "	Yes	Coffee plantation.	

continued. (2)

Reg. No.	Name in full.	Age.	pre-war address.	Years in the old place.	Families	Occupation.	Remarks.
C.J. 18844	KASHIDA Genichi	54	Catierlaton, Noumea.	29 years	Yes No.	Carpenter	
22421	TAKAMUNE Tetsukichi	59	Societe Le Per Mining Coy, Noumea, N.C.	30 "	Yes	Miner	
22401	INOUE Chikara	54	Societe Le Per Mining Coy, Noumea, N.C.	29 "	Yes	Miner	
22179	HICKI Isamu	65	Kono, N.C.	37 "	Yes	Coffee plantation	
22224	KUROKAWA Takaji	67	Noumea, N.C.	29 "	No	Bakery Employee	
22230	NAKANO Tetsukichi	70	Canala, New Caledonia	42 "	No	Coffee plantation	
22242	MIZUNO Takemon	68	Boulai N.C.	42 "	Yes	Farmer	
22429	TOMIYAKI Wadao	67	Yoh, New Caledonia	41 "	No	Blacksmith	
22502	SASANO Otsunon	70	Ooro, New Caledonia	42 "	Yes	Merchant	
22431	HIGUCHI Santaro	69	L'ophelinat Noumea N.C.	32 "	Yes	Farmer.	

Trusting your kind consideration I would like to thank you in anticipation,

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
Sgd: Compound Leader, 140.

AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES / ACT 68 A1066 ITEM 451/11/5

Fig. 8. Petition sent to French Empire via Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Canberra)
Coll. Australian Archives

Representative examples of such a cases among Nippo-Kanaks can be seen in the family histories of Adéline Morioka, Anaïs Eto, and Janette Yokoyama, whose fathers were sent to Australia around which time they were all approximately ten years of age.⁵⁰ The knowledge of their father, of each father's personality, likes, dislikes, sensitivities, and other traits was only made possible through reading the letters the fathers would send to them or to their mothers while in the Australian camps.⁵¹ Although Morioka's and Eto's fathers could understand French, reading and writing it somewhat fluently, many of the Japanese internees would make use of the services of a certain Mr. Tomono, a knowledgeable writer fluent in Japanese and French, who would serve as the intermediary and translator between Kanak mothers/concubines and their husbands/partners.⁵²

⁵⁰ As can be seen in Figure 8, the name of the father of Anaïs Eto—Heizo Eto—is listed on the petition.

⁵¹ See figure 9.

⁵² Upon examining the letters that Morioka and Eto had sent to their daughters, I have concluded that the handwriting in both were different, which leads to the presumption that their Japanese fathers had substantial knowledge of French and did not make use of Mr. Tomono's services. It is presumed that the Japanese prisoners had kept the address of their property in New Caledonia with them to have the letters sent to the respective locations. All letters were opened and inspected by officials, with appropriate censures being made when deemed necessary, before being sent to New Caledonia.

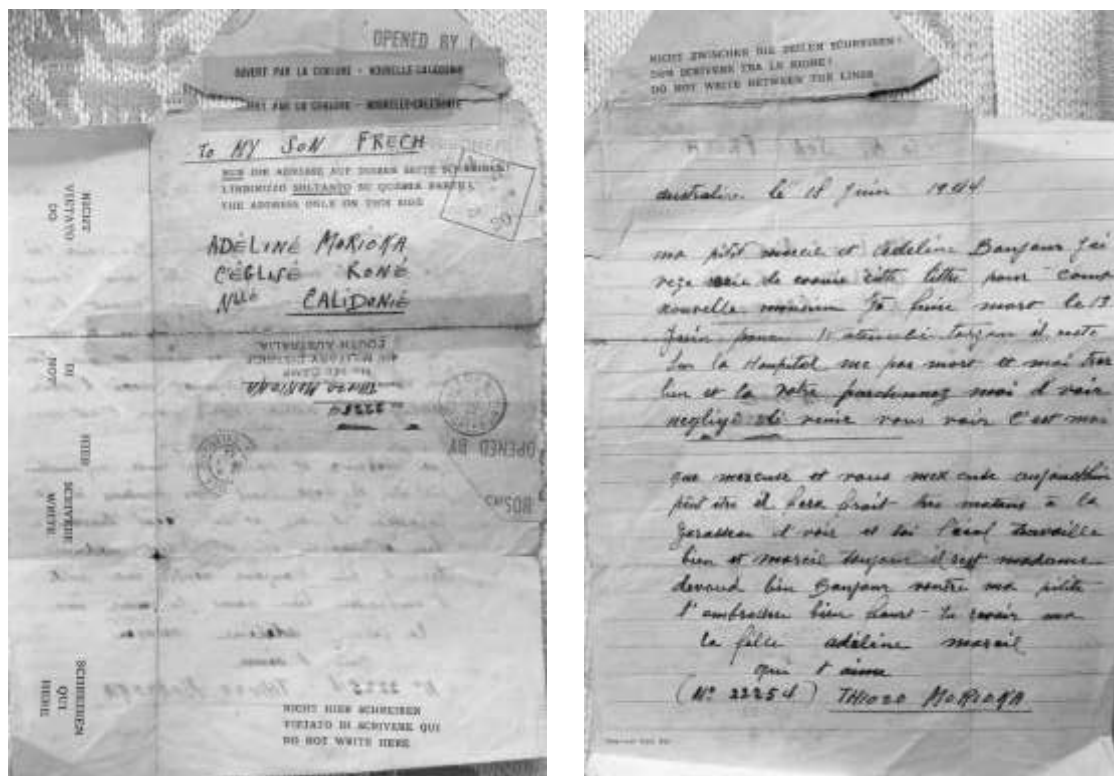


Fig. 9. Letters written by Morioka Thiozo. Letters written in French by Adéline Morioka's father, Thiozo, at Camp Loveday, Australia. (Dated 18 July 1944)

Coll. Adéline Morioka

Janette Yokoyama's case was slightly different from Anaïs Eto's: Her father, Tomiki Yokoyama, was from Fukushima, Japan, and settled in Voh. Yokoyama had incidentally befriended Anaïs Eto's father while in New Caledonia and was also sent to Camp Loveday. However, unlike Eto's and Morioka's fathers, Janette Yokoyama's father did not send any letters to her or her mother until after the war at which point Yokoyama returned to Japan. It caught Janette's mother Andrée by surprise that she had received a letter from Japan, thinking that her partner *en*

concubinage was presumably dead. While Tomiki Yokoyama was held as a prisoner-of-war in Camp Loveday, Andrée remarried to a certain Mr. Maccam who forced her into marriage through violence. As Janette recounts, “Monsieur Maccam était un homme violent. Il m’a dit ‘Si le Japonais revient en Calédonie, je vais te tuer’” (Yokoyama). Each time Andrée would receive letters in French from Tomiki, who was residing in Japan, she would hide them from Mr. Maccam and quickly read them to Janette before burning them for fear of her and her children’s lives. To this day, Janette has no letters from her father; however, from her recollection, Janette informed me of the following:

Dans toutes les lettres que ma mère lisait de mon père, il y avait toujours des instructions à ma mère sur comment m’élever. C’était clair qu’il m’aimait tant, mais il n’avait ni l’argent ni le désir de revenir surtout que ma mère ne pouvait pas sortir de son mariage avec M. Maccam. J’imagine qu’il en savait tout, mon père. C’était une triste histoire. (Yokoyama)

Andrée had nevertheless secretly hid several photos of her former husband Tomiki, whom she had admired greatly; however, to this day only one survives.⁵³ Janette confided not to have any more information regarding her father.

⁵³ See figure 10.



Fig. 10. Yokoyama Tomiki. Hidden photograph of Janette's father, Tomiki, secretly handed down to Janette by her mother.

Coll. Janette Yokoyama

An important theorization of Nippo-Kanak mixed-raceness can be extrapolated from this biographical and historical context from Yokoyama's case, which was similar to varying degrees with other Nippo-Kanak children. The cultural transmission between Melanesian mothers and Japanese fathers to their *métis* children was notably French and Kanak given their children's minimal to non-exposure to the Japanese culture. The Nippo-Kanaks ultimately became adults with no knowledge of the Japanese culture or language beyond what they were able to learn from their fathers through censored or inspected letters from Japan or Australia by French officials. In essence, the *absence* of the Japanese fathers served as the key agent in having promoted and instilled a French ethos for the Nippo-Kanak children. The destruction of Japanese values was only made possible by the physical uprooting of the Japanese males, thus suggesting the double expulsion of Japanese: (1) the physical banning of Japanese subjects from New Caledonia and (2)

the epistemic banning of Japanese cultural value systems from the minds of Nippo-Kanak children. Furthermore, as archived rapports from the U.S. Naval Liaison Officer in New Caledonia show, a number of Nippo-Kanak girls—suffering from low economic and social status—served as pleasure women for foreign officers, both French and American, thereby inflicting Eurocentric epistemic and physical violences onto their mixed-race bodies and minds.⁵⁴

When analyzed from this perspective that sees the primacy of French cultural values inculcated into the upbringing of the Nippo-Kanak children (to the detriment of the Japanese culture), it is equally important to ascertain how the relations between Kanaks and Japanese—cross-cultural kinship networks of sorts—served decolonially. The Nippo-Kanak children born from the union between a Kanak and a Japanese would under normal circumstances be regarded by the French as *apatride* or “stateless,” given that they would normally not be considered fully Japanese or French citizens.⁵⁵ The decolonial liminality—namely, the Nippo-Kanak’s essence in being “apatride” and not French—functioned as a legal and philosophical severing or “de-linking” from the French Pacific colonial framework. In effect, the Nippo-Kanaks acted as a decolonial agent against French rule because the New Caledonian French Empire was unable to brand a French citizenship onto

⁵⁴ By December 1924, approximately fifty *métis(se)* Japanese subjects remained unaccounted (Train 2).

⁵⁵ The Kanaks were issued French citizenship starting in 1953; therefore, Nippo-Kanaks born after this time were granted automatic French citizenship in New Caledonia. It is noteworthy that in Indochina starting on 4 November 1928, “the colonial [French] government passed a decree allowing nonrecognised Eurasians to become legally French” (Pomfret 272). This decree was not in operation vis-à-vis the Nippo-Kanaks in New Caledonia until 1953.

Nippo-Kanaks. Nevertheless, certain Japanese cultural associations were reclaimed when the child had access to his or her father's letters. The child in such cases would be in the vicarious presence of his or her Japanese father and by extension the ancestral Japanese culture.⁵⁶

The Nippo-Kanak children's memories of Japan—a cultural knowledge shaped by their father's written word—were thus preserved and granted them a privileged perspective into the Japanese culture that was purposely taken away from them by the French Empire. The Nippo-Kanaks were thus enshrouded in paradox. They were passive recipients of French colonial domination and were also decolonial subjects because their “legal statelessness” allowed them to be neither fully included nor excluded from the French nation. As such, the Nippo-Kanaks eluded the clear legal identities set forth by the Empire. The Nippo-Kanaks' elusiveness from a colonial matrix allowed them to problematize the continuity between nativity, citizenry, and nationality.

Whether a Nippo-Kanak exhibited decoloniality by virtue of statelessness is a contentious point. With regards to “statelessness,” I suggest that Caribbean writer and activist Aimé Césaire's work on the French Antilles could perhaps best illuminate a key element to understanding how the Nippo-Kanaks were decolonial subjects. In his theories on “decolonization” and “departmentalization,” Césaire suggests that even though de-linking from a colonial matrix can happen in theory,

⁵⁶ In Eto's case, she was able to read the letters to her mother since her mother was illiterate (Eto).

the colonized subject's autonomy and self-management still operate within a French framework. This framework would be conducive to articulating the colonized subjects' distinctive collective personality. Césaire notes in this regard, “[Those formerly colonized] pass through [...] an autonomy that has nothing to do with independence, but an autonomy that while maintaining [themselves] within the French framework will allow [them], at least, to manage their own affairs” (qtd. in Wilder 198). The Nippo-Kanaks' statelessness problematized their citizenry and position within the French colonial system, but their autonomy and mobility within the French system—such as continuing a Japanese New Caledonian lineage—made them an example of Césaire's decolonial subject in the Pacific context.

That the majority of Nippo-Kanaks were children during the time of their fathers' expulsion was in itself a threat to the French Empire that had regarded mixed-race Asian children as having, in the words of David Pomfret, “a damaging impact upon French prestige” (246). The “damaging” of French prestige stems from the Asia Pacific French Empire's inability to set a “separate legal category defining the mixed-race child. [...] As with the number of [*métis*] children growing by day, existing voluntary-led efforts to receive and acculturate this group into Frenchness had begun to appear inadequate for the task at hand” (Pomfret 246). The dual threat that the Nippo-Kanaks exerted vis-à-vis the French imperial epistemology thus placed their decolonial, “stateless” status into contiguity with their positions as children. The mixed raced Nippo-Kanak child would thus contrast itself to the idealized purity of European-ness embodied by the fully French colonial child. This

stark contrast in youth between a stateless, racialized child and a pure-White European child would expose the fissures within the French colonial framework that praised the mono-racial fixities associated with pure-White colonial children.

Despite the increasing nonchalance toward the history of Japanese New Caledonians from members of the younger generation, the stories of the period when the Japanese were sought after and captured by French authorities are what remain the most untold. The trauma that the act of recollection induces for the Japanese New Caledonians has caused years of silence, and it was not until the commemoration of the 120th year of the Japanese presence in New Caledonia—during which time Mutsumi Tsuda published her essay-photo collection *Feu Nos Pères*—that Japanese New Caledonian families came together in Nouméa to discuss their respective family's (hi)stories, their childhood, their *métissages*, and their fathers' incarcerations.⁵⁷ In my conversations with numerous Nippo-Kanak survivors—who are to this day in their late eighties and early nineties—I have learned that many of the Nippo-Kanak families throughout New Caledonia disintegrated upon the deportation of the Japanese fathers. What complicates the Nippo-Kanak kinship vis-à-vis their mother and absent father is that—as noted in

⁵⁷ Although Tsuda had interviewed numerous Nippo-Kanak families and had confided to me that she had listened to and notated the various stories of separation before publishing her research on Japanese New Caledonians in *Âmes Errantes*, she purposely does not include the testimonies of those who witnessed the separation of their fathers in neither *Feu Nos Pères* nor *Âmes Errantes*. This critical elision of these Nippo-Kanaks' separation histories with their fathers is suggestive of an erasure that downplays this particular *métis* group's trauma. Additionally, Ismet Kurtovich's theatrical work *Les Comédies broussardes* (2005) on the Japanese arrest in New Caledonia glosses over the sentiments of confusion, fear, sorrow, and agony that the Nippo-Kanak children experienced at the hands of the French Empire.

several cases—upon the expulsion of the Japanese, many mothers were unable or unwilling to take care of their *métis* children. As a result, the mothers were either forced to place their child(ren) in orphanages or had asked other Kanaks, Asians, or (in certain exceptional cases) French families to take care of their Nippo-Kanak offspring.

To illustrate this phenomenon, I share an episode from the childhood of Japanese *Sansei*, Marie-Noëlle Andak (deformation of “Honda”) Paimbouc, born in New Caledonia in 1965 to Ginette Andak N’Gadiman (1944-2001), a Nippo-Indonesian *métisse* born in Koné, New Caledonia, and to Adrien Deramane, a full Indonesian migrant worker of the island.⁵⁸ Marie-Noëlle’s grandfather was a Japanese immigrant from Fukuoka, Honda Jinjiro (Zinjiro), residing in Thio, who perished on 31 January 1940 (National Archives of Australia). His wife, Yoshimaru Fujino, had arrived in New Caledonia with Honda and left for Japan after her husband’s death on 13 March 1941, months prior to the arrest of the Japanese. Prior to her return trip to Japan (and the reason behind this return remains unclear), she erected a tomb in the Japanese section of the Nouméa cemeteries, which still stands today. Between Yoshimaru and Honda, there were no children. However, from Marie-Noëlle’s recollection of conversations with her late mother, she realized that she had two uncles. Marie-Noëlle’s mother was raised by an Indonesian family in New Caledonia.

⁵⁸ See figure 11.

The day that the Japanese were rounded in Koné to be sent to the detention camps—Koné being the location where the Japanese suffered most at French hands—Marie-Noëlle’s mother was only a baby. The Indonesian mother had only hid Ginette under her thick dress against her bosom and left Ginette’s brothers hidden in various places around the house so that the French would not find them. As Marie-Noëlle recalls from her mother’s testimony (which in turn Ginette had received from her adoptive Indonesian mother), the French military stormed the house and searched for any children of Japanese descent. Although Nippo-Kanaks and other *métis* children were spared in all other parts of New Caledonia, it was only in Koné that the French murdered any child of “contaminated” Japanese descent. The French military officers entered the mother of Ginette’s house and located the two hiding brothers, at this point trembling with fear. Subsequently, the French officers took Ginette’s *métis* Nippo-Indonesian brothers who were infants at this time, brought them to the roof of the house, and threw each infant off the roof, killing both instantaneously (Paimbouc). Ginette survived thanks to her presumably adopted Indonesian mother’s efforts to hide her within her bosom that evening.

The trauma of having lost her brothers, mother, and father was something that Ginette faced most of her life. She gave birth to Marie-Noëlle while still young and when her husband was 20 years. The psychological effects on Ginette transformed into physically abusing Marie-Noëlle, even when she was only an infant. At the age of one, Marie-Noëlle’s mother broke her legs, and it was the grandmother of Marie-Noëlle’s father who would intervene, coming to rescue

Marie-Noëlle from her own mother's violence. Marie-Noëlle contends that Ginette had been physically abused by her own adoptive mother whose violence was "reprise par ma mère qui était exactement comme sa mère [adoptive]" (Paimbouc). The day she turned eighteen, Marie-Noëlle left her house and her family and lived on the streets of Nouméa until she had enough money to find a job. With the money she received, she pursued an education and met her husband, Éric Paimbouc, shortly thereafter. Marie-Noëlle Honda Paimbouc's testimony of her physical abuse shows, among other things, the extent to which the colonial violence experienced by her mother was transmitted onto her half-Japanese child.



Fig. 11. Adrien Deramane and Ginette Honda N'Gadiman. Undated photograph of Adrien and Ginette during their wedding ceremony. Coll. Marie-Noëlle Paimbouc

It is plausible to contend that the collectively repressed French resentment and jealousy harbored toward the Japanese success prior to 7 December 1941 manifested itself in the inhumane treatment that many Japanese migrants suffered thereafter on the island. In addition, the French had justified their brutality during search and seize missions on the grounds that supposedly (and erroneously) all the Japanese maintained connections with espionage networks:

La justification la plus courante des brutalités et de la haine manifestée était l'appartenance supposée de chaque Japonais aux services secrets. [...] Il y en avait, bien évidemment, et des éminents. Pour justifier ces comportements, Monsieur Jean Delouvrier, ancien milicien et maire de Poya, avec qui j'ai eu la chance d'avoir une conversation, m'affirma que, par exemple le jardinier Sakamoto était un colonel de l'armée japonaise. [...] Je dus lui expliquer [...] qu'au Japon, pour être espion, il importe de faire partie, familialement, d'un certain environnement

ou, plus sûrement, d'appartenir à une catégorie très particulière de la société japonaise. (Dalmayrac, "Japonais" 11)⁵⁹

Regarding Japan as an imminent threat, the French had selected Australia, an allied country, to detain Japanese prisoners-of-war from New Caledonia.

As a defense mechanism, the French Empire deported 1,124 Japanese (out of the approximate 1,445 subjects residing in New Caledonia) on four vessels beginning 22 December 1941 (Nagata, "La guerre du Pacifique" 61).⁶⁰ The Japanese from across New Caledonia were grouped at La Place d'Armes (Nouméa; present day Place Bir-Hakeim) and sent to Nouville (Nouméa) by boats. It was at L'île Nou where they were detained and awaited their vessel to Australia (Dalmayrac, "Japonais" 10).⁶¹ The conditions that Japanese women faced, most of whom were brides accompanying their husbands to New Caledonia, were trauma inducing. As one deported Japanese mother Yuri Murayama notes,

[c]'était ma pire expérience de la guerre. Nous avons apporté des biscuits et de quoi manger pour environ quarante enfants. Mais des soldats nous ont enlevé ces nourritures, sans pitié. La vie à bord était horrible: nous n'avions pas de lits, pas de toilettes non plus. Les femmes et les enfants avaient au moins de quoi se changer, mais les

⁵⁹ There remains an archived letter that Sakamoto, the head gardener of Magenta, sent to the French governor of New Caledonia in 1943 requesting that he French release two of his subordinate gardeners, arrested for having hidden guns in their residences. Sakamoto denied this fact in his letter (see Photographic Dossier). To this day, it remains unclear why Sakamoto was granted an exception to stay in New Caledonia.

⁶⁰ Approximately, 200 out of the deported Japanese had families or some form of established familial kinship in New Caledonia (Michel).

⁶¹ Those placed in the detention center were given nothing to eat, spit at, and beaten. It is noteworthy, as recounted by Nippo-Kanak Rose Kono, that approximately seven or eight Nippo-Kanaks and Nippo-French, who became naturalized French citizens by request, had fought for the French, among the 216 Japanese who had either become naturalized French citizens or had sons fighting with the French (Kono).

hommes demeuraient attachés et faisaient peine à voir. (qtd. in Nagata, “La guerre du Pacifique” 61)

Despite the inhumane conditions and treatment to which the Japanese were subjected *en route* to Australia, once in Australia their treatment—regulated by the Geneva Convention—was considerably different. Most single Japanese men were placed in Camp Hay or Camp Loveday, while Japanese couples and women were sent to Camp Tatura.

Australia had kept over 4,000 prisoners from different countries in detention camps (Tsuda *Âmes Errantes* 98). Throughout Australia’s internment camps, the Japanese prisoners were provided ample amounts of nourishment and were given opportunities to celebrate the various days of celebration in which one would take part in Japan. Additionally, the Japanese prisoners-of-war were given a choice of daily tasks. The Japanese had elected to work in the prisoner camps as carpenters, gardeners, tailors, cooks, *geta* (wooden sandal) makers, among other camp occupations. The architectural influences of Japan and New Caledonia could be seen in several of the living quarters that the Japanese built while in detention.⁶²

In sum, the Japanese were treated relatively humanely in Australian camps, and at the onset of the Japanese defeat, the Japanese—in collective disbelief of their

⁶² See Photographic Dossier. Photography was not allowed in the Australian camps; however, a series of rare photographs presumably taken by Australian camp officers have been conserved in the Australian National Archives, as well as in personal collections. I include these photographs in the Photographic Dossier section of this chapter. I thank Marie-José Michel for her intervention in providing these photographs.

nation's surrender—were given strict orders by the Australian government to leave Melbourne, Australia, to Japan on 21 February 1946, on the *Koei Maru* vessel (Nagata, "La guerre du Pacifique" 64).⁶³ The Japanese made their return to a war-torn homeland in three weeks:

La situation du Japon de l'époque était misérable. Nous, les rapatriés, avons été poussés et entassés dans un train. Parmi nous, certains portaient encore l'uniforme bordeaux fourni au camp, et cela attirait l'attention des voyageurs habituels. D'autres portaient costume et chapeau. Nous étions facilement reconnaissables, comme des vedettes de cinéma. (Nagata, "La guerre du Pacifique" 64)

The repatriated Japanese faced a difficult road to reintegration, and their immediate disinfection with DDT left many with chronic reproductive toxicity. As the voyage to New Caledonia was costly (approximately 1,500 F), most Japanese husbands and fathers decided with much heartache to remain in Japan and cut contact with their loved ones left behind in New Caledonia.

The children of these repatriated Japanese—Nippo-Kanaks, Nippo-French, Nippo-Indonesians, among other *métis*—carry the heritage and memories of their fathers and of their fathers' Japanese culture in New Caledonia. Today, there are more than eight thousand Japanese New Caledonians residing on the Pacific archipelago, and the history of their Japanese ancestors remains transmitted orally within family lines. The mixed-raced children of deported Japanese migrants are, as

⁶³ The exception being those Japanese born in Australian camps and those select Japanese who were sent to South Africa—the latter being the case for Takeo Tsuji, grandfather of Rosemary Takei, current administrative member of the Japanese New Caledonian heritage group, Association Japonaise.

Dalmayrac underscores, part of a “génération perdue” and a “communauté japonaise de sentiments et de souvenirs” that was subjected to the dual violence of having their fathers forcibly taken away from them and from having to undergo the life-long trauma of never rekindling the absent relationship with their paternal side (Dalmayrac, “Japonais” 11). Even until the 1980s, *métis* children, in particular the Nippo-Kanaks, were subjected to anti-Japanese racism within schools in New Caledonia, with “Sale Nippon!” being an oft-heard phrasing. The reality of having even the slightest amount of Japanese blood was grounds for anti-Japanese xenophobia and racism, in particular among French administrators until the 1960s.

A shift in mood, understanding, and collective discourse vis-à-vis the Japanese has nevertheless taken shape through three national commemorations thanks to the efforts by the Association Japonaise and Mutsumi Tsuda. Furthermore, Tsuda, who spearheaded these three commemorations, recounts:

Avant [*Feu nos Pères*], deux grandes manifestations avaient déjà permis le regroupement à grande échelle des métissés japonais pour célébrer le souvenir de leurs ancêtres: le centenaire de la présence japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1992, puis le 110ème anniversaire en 2002. Ces deux événements ont eu lieu à Nouméa, à l’initiative de l’Amicale japonaise, laquelle compte environ 120 familles. [...] Il était également symbolique de voir FNP investir les espaces du centre culturel Tjibaou. Ce centre fut construit sur des fonds conséquents du gouvernement français pour marquer la réconciliation. Il s’agissait—pour l’histoire calédonienne—de la première exposition dont le sujet mettait en scène une ethnie autre que celles de la France métropolitaine ou des indigènes Kanak. [...] Cette exposition a connu un gros retentissement tant dans la société calédonienne blanche qu’auprès d’autres ethnies, d’origine non européenne. (Tsuda, *Feu* 74-5)

To avoid complicating cross-national relations, both Japanese and French governments have remained silent on the histories of incarceration and brutality experienced by the Japanese and Japanese New Caledonians. Having been subjected to similar difficulties that Japanese migrant workers of the mainland United States faced in both pre- and post-Second World War contexts, the Japanese New Caledonians remain perhaps one of the most important yet rarely acknowledged ethnic collectivity that not only played a role in the colonial history in New Caledonia, but also enabled the French to secure crucial importations of raw materials. Accordingly, the Japanese presence in New Caledonia played a utilitarian role in fortifying the French Pacific colonial project vis-à-vis Asian immigrant workers and Kanaks. This East Asian presence also finds its echo in autofictional literature produced by descendants of Japanese New Caledonians. It is in this kind of literature treating the traumas faced by the Japanese New Caledonian community that readers can see literary parallels to actual historical occurrences of brutality. These literary parallels echo, for instance, Ginette N'Gadiman's survival account.

In the ensuing section, this study will examine Dany Dalmayrac's Nippo-Kanak autofictional text, *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, in context of Japanese New Caledonian history. This analysis offer a critical window "from the inside" that a Nippo-Kanak author provides to a French audience about the trials and tribulations faced by Nippo-Kanaks and their Japanese fathers before, during, and after the search and seize raid by the French Empire. Specific attention will be placed on the representations of *métissage*, memory, and visibility of settler colonial violence in

Dalmayrac's novel. The literary perspective that Dalmayrac offers on the inter-Asian and Franco-Kanak relations can allow readers to consider the sociohistorical and political contexts from which Japanese New Caledonian history emerges.

III. Dalmayrac's *Les sentiers de l'espoir*: Witnessing the Pain of Others

Les sentiers de l'espoir is Dalmayrac's first work pertaining to the Japanese New Caledonians and to the subsequent tribulations that they experienced in New Caledonia prior to and after the Second World War. Dalmayrac was born on 22 March 1958 and spent much of his childhood years in Poya, New Caledonia. His grandfather Zenkiti Hiriuo was born in Fukushima prefecture in Japan, came to New Caledonia as an indentured servant, and married Yakoyi Meureureu-Yari, a Kanak from the Ouendji clan in Poya. Dalmayrac's grandfather had five children, which included Dalmayrac's own mother Lauria Zenkichi-Homo. The Kanak uncle of Dany's mother, Roch Katieu Kavitya, had taken care of Lauria during most of her adolescence, and after Lauria's giving birth, Roch also takes in Dalmayrac as an adopted son.

After Dalmayrac's father was deported to Camp Loveday in Australia on 19 January 1941, Roch became Dalmayrac's surrogate father who, along with Lauria,

raised the young Dalmayrac.⁶⁴ As was the custom, Roch passed along his clan's name onto the young Dany who obtains the double surname Yadowa Kavitya. As ultimately recognized by the French registry, Dany took the surname of his paternal side, Dalmayrac, becoming Dany Kavitya Dalmayrac. Dalmayrac's grandfather, Edouard Dalmayrac, was a French officer and mayor of Nouméa responsible for having validated the death certificates of Japanese New Caledonian deportees, including perhaps the missing deportation and death certificate of Dany's own Japanese grandfather.

At the heart of Dalmayrac's work is his personalized engagement with preserving the Nippo-Kanak heritage that was threatened with ethnocide after the Japanese deportation beginning in December 1941:

De plus j'ai eu la conviction qu'il n'y avait pas de futur pour les nouvelles générations métisses, notamment métis nippo-kanak et métis kanak. Ces pensées m'ont conduit à écrire la réalité en passant par le vecteur du roman, aucun historien n'ayant sérieusement travaillé sur le sujet. L'inspiration est puisée dans la vie de mes semblables et dans mon vécu. Ce sont donc des histoires vraies ou, plutôt, des mémoires vraies, qui ont pu être livrées par le vecteur du roman. J'ai donc mis mes tripes dans ces écrits plus par souci de raconter l'histoire de ma mère et de sa famille que par souci littéraire. Simplement, le récit a été habillé en roman ou en nouvelle. (Dalmayrac)

Les sentiers de l'espoir is the result of literary inspirations from Franz Kafka and years of listening to his Nippo-Kanak mother's trauma-influenced childhood stories,

⁶⁴ Dalmayrac had brought me to the exact location where his mother had witnessed, at the age of five, the arrest of Zenkiti. Dalmayrac indicated that the winding path in the Photographic Dossier is a visual evocation of the title *Les sentiers de l'espoir*.

in particular those relating to her ultimate separation from her father at the age of five. When questioned the reasoning behind the creation of an autofictional work—a work that his own mother has yet to read out of fear of reliving her past—

Dalmayrac responded:

Je ne peux pas écrire un livre sur ce qui s'est exactement passé. Ce serait trop traumatisant d'écrire ce que ma mère m'a raconté. Mais à travers le roman, la vérité est moins douloureuse et c'est justement en écrivant que je parviens à me soigner. L'écriture me soigne. Je laisse le travail de vérification aux historiens. J'ai les histoires de ma mère, une Nippo-Kanak qui a tout subi, tant mentalement que physiquement. Je ne voulais donc pas que mon livre soit influencé par un travail extérieur. Je souligne aussi avec les autres choses que *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, c'est l'histoire de la fille, celle d'Anaïs qui est celle de ma mère; une histoire d'une fille qui se trouve au fond du trou. Elle se désespère de tout, et c'est la souffrance de tous les métis Nippo-Kanaks qui se représente à travers elle. Toujours les mêmes questions que se posent les Nippo-Kanaks de l'époque: "Est-ce que je vais m'en sortir un jour?" Les Nippo-Kanak cherchent un sentier pour les sauver. Le problème, c'est qu'il n'y a pas de route, ce sont des sentiers, ce qui veut dire qu'il n'y a pas de visibilité, pas de certitude. Mais, pour eux, il faut prendre ces sentiers pour aller vers un espoir, d'où vient le titre de cet ouvrage. (Dalmayrac)

Writing *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, which involved an active engagement with traumatization, was thus a process of renewal and healing, providing for Dany what Judith Harris calls a "protective cuirass for the wounded" (5).⁶⁵ The mediating act of

⁶⁵ Approximately 800 copies of *Les sentiers de l'espoir* were sold; however, this work remains currently out-of-print and available only in a few libraries worldwide. Its limited availability in contrast with other works written by French New Caledonians or Kanaks, stems from its auto-published status. In order to publish this work at the onset of the 2000s when publishing houses were scarce in New Caledonia, Dalmayrac was required to fund his own publishing house, Écume du Pacifique. He did not accept any financial assistance from political organizations or other sources to publish works associated with Écume du Pacifique (Dalmayrac). Dalmayrac's 2008 publication, *La petite bicyclette et autres nouvelles japonaises et calédoniennes*, another novel on the Nippo-Kanaks inspired by his mother, was also distributed under Écume du Pacifique. Finally, Dalmayrac has published his last novel *L'île monde* with

writing requires a retrospective engagement with a traumatic past, and the novel itself becomes a receptacle of Japanese New Caledonian memory.

Dalmayrac's work sheds an important historical light on intra-Kanak relations, as well as Kanak-French relations through the lens of *métissage* that distinguishes itself from historicizing, Metro-centrist appraisals into French-Kanak histories.⁶⁶ As Sonia Faessel comments on her review of *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, "[Dalmayrac] maîtrise parfaitement les deux mondes: kanak et européen, et il en a assimilé les principes, permettant au lecteur d'avoir une double interprétation de la situation historique et politique de l'époque" (62). The political and historical contexts within which the plot unfolds are captured in Dalmayrac's narration. At the heart of this work is the symbolic death or ethnocide of prewar Japanese culture in New Caledonia and the birth of a reconfigured, resuscitated form of postwar Japanese culture structured by a fusion of Kanak and French ethno-cultural influences.⁶⁷

L'Harmattan in 2005. Currently, Dalmayrac is completing a philosophical meditation in book-form on *métissage*, as well as another novel on *métissage*.

⁶⁶ Dalmayrac notes in regards to the term *métissage*, "Ce sont les métis qui comprennent mieux ce que veut dire le métissage. Maintenant, on voit souvent le type de discours académique qui avance l'idée que tout le monde est métis, que tout fait partie de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un métissage culturel. Toutefois, et j'en suis convaincu à la lumière de ce que je vis, de ce que j'ai vécu et de ce qu'a subi ma mère, il y a un problème lorsqu'on met le métissage biologique et l'identité individuelle au même niveau que les métissages et les identités collectifs. Dire que tout est métissage est d'estomper la spécificité d'un métissage d'une personne de deux races différentes, c'est en effet de nier son histoire, de nier les violences qu'elle a vécues. Il faudra la littérature pour que tout s'explique, et surtout il faut un métis qui sait comment articuler les choses à partir de ses souvenirs et pas des choses scientifiques ou théoriques" (Dalmayrac).

⁶⁷ Gilles Leydier defines ethnocide as "not [...] the total extermination of a racial minority but rather [...] the destruction of its cultural identity" (115).

IV. *Métissage* and *Les sentiers de l'espoir*

Les sentiers de l'espoir opens with two central Japanese characters, Hurio and Suzuka, respectively based on Dalmayrac's Japanese grandfather Zenkiti Hiriuo and his unnamed father's Japanese friend. The narration begins *in medias res* in an undisclosed location *en brousse*—namely, the New Caledonian countryside punctuated by vast expanses of woods; however, the author confirms that this area is in fact Poya, the heartland of his own Kanak roots.⁶⁸ The opening of the novel presents Hurio and Suzuka clad in camouflage, armed with artillery and war-time materials, which include strategic maps of the area and notes written in Japanese. The narrator depicts the two men in hiding during the early morning hours before dawn as they map the areas controlled by “ennemis [de France] possibles dans la région” (*Les sentiers* 15). Through the lens of an omniscient narrator, Suzuka, the young lieutenant, is described reporting in code to the Japanese military what he sees in the area.

Over the course of their topographic mapping, the men hear encroaching French officers, toward whom they throw grenades, and quickly escape the area. Both Japanese men—Hurio being in his fifties and Suzuka in his mid-twenties—

⁶⁸ Dalmayrac pointed out to me the exact location where the opening of *Les sentiers de l'espoir* transpires (see Photographic Dossier). Most names and places in the novel were changed or slightly modified; however, all characters and places are based on actual people that Dalmayrac's grandfather and mother knew and places where Dalmayrac had visited as a child.

have jobs outside their clandestine lives as Japanese spies: Hurio is a “humble agriculteur de Néva,” whose Kanak wife remains deceased for years, who leaves behind six Nippo-Kanak children (21). Suzuka does not have a family yet remains in the area befriending the Kanaks with whom he establishes amical relations.

Receiving orders from his higher-ups, Hurio is baptized as a Catholic “pour endormir la méfiance des autorités locales” (24). The omniscient narrator suggests to readers that Hurio and Suzuka are spies, despite Dalmayrac’s remark that “ils peuvent être espions ou pas; je n’en dis rien sauf que l’histoire des soldats japonais me fascine” (Dalmayrac). The narrator suggests the possibility that Hurio is partaking in a Japanese spy network, leading a double life during the day and night:

Hurio avait consacré la journée précédente à discuter avec ses amis des tribus. Il ne pouvait pas leur dire, qu’un jour ou l’autre, son pays tenterait de venir dans cette île. Mais il fit son possible pour qu’ils aient une idée positive de son Empire. Quand il quitta la tribu, en pleine nuit, pour traverser la propriété interdite du colon-éleveur Egle, [...] il ne savait pas encore que la date fatidique de l’opération d’envergure prévue était proche. (24)

One day, Hurio receives orders from his military superiors to leave during the night and meet Suzuka at an undisclosed location by the seashore. Bringing his youngest Nippo-Kanak child Anaïs, age five, with him, he hides with Suzuka in camouflage awaiting the arrival of five French military men who were just anchoring to the shore. The narrator notes that Hurio “leva son arme en direction du groupe et Suzuka l’imita” (27). Captain Hurio fires, awaking Anaïs, and presumably kills the French military men.

This murder sets the tone for the rest of the novel. Death and violence in darkness create a thematic atmosphere within which the tensions between the Japanese and French manifest themselves. Furthermore, the chameleonic qualities of the Japanese—here, represented by Hurio and Suzuka—are most noticeable, as both Japanese men assert their pro-Japanese military agenda against the French at night while nearby clan members are asleep. Dalmayrac exposes two Japanese spies plotting the lands and making coded annotations to relay to the Japanese military via radio who ultimately murder five French military subjects, although the actual shooting is only intimated by the narrator. The visuality of Anaïs—a child unaware of her surroundings, placed against the chest of her father Hurio, and seen together alongside the firing of the pistol—is symbolic of the ultimate death and ethnocide with which Japanese New Caledonians were faced following the Second World War. For Dalmayrac, the mediated violence that the Nippo-Kanak community exercised vis-à-vis the French operates vicariously through Hurio, the Japanese, and his shooting, as the outline of Anaïs sleeping against Hurio symbolically becomes a corporeal extension of her father.

What is perhaps most striking about this opening episode is Dalmayrac's subtle suggestion of the existence of a large military network of Japanese spies who, giving the impression of being hardworking migrant laborers, are in New Caledonia with the intention to colonize the island.⁶⁹ The immediate association between the

⁶⁹ Historically, there are no known reports of Japanese military officials, disguised as migrant workers, who killed French officers (Michel).

Japanese and spies, which rightly captures the manner in which the Japanese were viewed by the French Empire as 1941 approached, is reflected in Dalmayrac's novel; and the motif of duplicity becomes central to understanding how the narrator defines the triangulated relationship between the Japanese, the Kanaks, and the French.⁷⁰

That the narrator mentions that Hurio “fit son possible pour qu’ils aient une idée positive de son Empire” demonstrates the extent to which the Japanese, hoping to promote a more ideal image of their homeland, were regarded negatively by French colonists envious of the apparent and timely economic successes of the Asian workers. The French’s disdain for the Japanese’s successes was fueled by the reality that most Japanese migrants did not have an education and were illiterate:

Les petits agresseurs n’exprimaient que les préjugés qu’ils avaient comprimés dans leurs cœurs rageurs depuis tant d’années de haine inoculée dans le secret de failles rongées par la rancœur, l’envie et le mépris de tout ce qui était japonais. En public, le sourire sournois de la duplicité avait toujours masqué l’envie frustrée qui ne s’exprimait qu’au sein du foyer. (51)

⁷⁰ This duplicity is noted in the 1910 edition of *The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire*:

Recent complaints were made that Japanese were trepang-fishing in prohibited waters. Two of their boats were subsequently captured at Noumea. [...] Subsequent inquiries proved, according to the commissioner, that these ostensible fishermen were in reality Japanese spies who had previously been taking soundings along the Barrier Reef off the coast of Queensland. Information [of the area] is being collected and forwarded to Tokio for the preparation of charts and ordnance maps of the island. When we remember that the approach to Noumea is unusually difficult to navigate and that the coast of the island is one of the most treacherous in the world, we can realize how valuable such information would be if Japan decided to make Noumea her naval base in the South Pacific. (530)

The “crime grave,” as the narrator later continues, for any Asian or Kanak to commit was linked to surpassing the French in their own system that “leur avait été toujours favorable” (58). The racist and xenophobic depiction of French colonists, despite their ironic necessity to rely on the Japanese for mining and agricultural purposes, is captured vividly. However, what Dalmayrac omits is the favorable relationships that were created between the French and Japanese, calling to mind the treatment Sophie Nakamura’s father had with the French who warned him of the impending fate of the Japanese New Caledonians.

It is noteworthy that in this first episode of Hurio’s supposed shooting, the narrator specifies that Anaïs awakens from her slumber as her father shoots: “[Elle a] découv[ert] les hommes [...] qu’elle n’avait jamais vus auparavant, avec des étoiles sur le front, des étoiles sur leurs casquettes. Mais dans leurs yeux, étranges et sombres, elle avait discerné de la dureté. Et elle oublia ce rêve” (27). The narrator recalls that Anaïs sees the French and is able to discern them without further recognizing who they were and what they were doing in this deserted area of Poya. Again, the visuality of this scene becomes an important factor: Her sight and presence—synecdoches of the Nippo-Kanaks—overlap the visuality of her Japanese father, symbolic of the Nippo-Kanak unity against the French.

What separates Hurio, Anaïs, and Suzuka from the unsuspecting Frenchmen is the firearm that encapsulates the violence and the memories of indigenous massacres brought about by the French Empire. In an ironic turn, it is the Nippo-

Kanak and the Japanese who maintain the advantage over the French at this moment. The narrator can only insinuate the killing of the French by highlighting the reactions of the Japanese military officials of the “réseau secret de l’Australie et du Pacifique Sud.” Doing so otherwise would suggest a historical inaccuracy, as no Japanese were known to have murdered any French agent (27).

The blurring of historical accuracy via an autofictional narrative, as Roger Luckhurst notes, “allows writers to tack between different modes, foregrounding a certain self-mythologising or deliberate toying with any pact [fiction-autobiography] too rigidly drawn” (413). The deliberate insinuation, underscored by the blurring of reality of “ce rêve,” operates most efficiently in the autofictional realm, which Dalmayrac uses to shock readers that the Japanese had fired against the French military men in New Caledonia (27). Although presumably historically inaccurate, given the current non-existence of any proof that would validate the existence of such an occurrence, the import that Dalmayrac places on murdering French soldiers hands a certain decolonial and anti-colonial power *après coup* to the Nippo-Kanaks and Japanese of which they were stripped the moment they entered the island.⁷¹ This reclaimed control that the Japanese had—a control given to them within

⁷¹ Dalmayrac comments on the bridge his work places between history and fiction:

Quand j’écris un roman, j’ai toujours en tête le travail d’historien qui s’ensuit ou devrait bien se produire. En effet, mon objectif, c’est créer un travail qui fait bouger les choses, qui invite les historiens—et moi, je ne suis pas un historien mais écrivain—à examiner ce qu’il y a écrit et à proposer des études sur le sujet afin que le public en soit au courant, afin qu’il y ait des livres académiques. Tout roman doit passer par les yeux d’historien pour être vérifié, mais dans un roman, il s’agit avant tout de la création affective de l’écrivain. (Dalmayrac)

Dalmayrac's diegesis and represented by Hurio and Anaïs—is further fortified by the decolonizing, anti-colonial alliances that the Japanese had made via their interracial marriages or *concubinages* with the Kanaks. The sense of power exhibited by Hurio that defines this opening scene starkly contrasts with the sentiments of vulnerability that the Japanese experience once the French Empire takes matters into their own hands after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The narration continues with Hurio's returning to his lodging and hearing the “voix [...] des travailleurs tonkinois qui, chaque matin, en petits groupes, escortés encadrés par leurs montremaîtres à cheval, s'acheminaient, hères penailés, en traînant le pas, tête basse, vers la mine de nickel proche” (30). The narrator comments on the passing Indochinese coolies, known as “les Chên Dăng,” who have their “dos marqué[s] par le fouet” (30). Among the many influences that Dalmayrac had in writing this novel is New Caledonia-born Vietnamese writer Jean Vanmai and his work *Chên Dăng* (1980), which exposes the severe working conditions to which the coolies from Northern Vietnam were subjected. The thematic interactions, as well as the intra-Asiatic similarities between the Chên Dăng and the Japanese at the hands of the French Empire, underscore the extent to which a Franco-Indochinese literary progeny has shaped Dalmayrac's literary productions on the Nippo-Kanaks.

The narrator, who slips into a historian tone, subsequently informs readers of the Japanese military's intention:

Les travailleurs japonais, présents sur le territoire depuis 1892, année pendant laquelle il en était arrivé six cents, tous célibataires, étaient, il est vrai, tous organisés en fonction de leurs régions, et aussi de leurs grades dans l'armée impériale. [...] Il fallait déjà disposer, outre d'un réseau d'argents bien organisés, d'alliés sûrs. La meilleure méthode était que ces centaines de célibataires japonais, patriotes avant tout, aient des enfants dans les tribus. (61)

The narrator, who is seemingly privileged in knowing exactly what methods were used to create bonds of trust between Japanese and Kanaks, suggests the possibility that many Japanese men used their marriages with Kanak women as a military strategy. Historically, Japanese military strategies included recourse to indentured servant spies. In this regard, a well-educated Kanak known as Watriama (from Maré) sent a letter on 3 February 1911, written in French to the Consul General of France based in Sydney, and affirmed from the Kanak perspective the existence of Japanese spies (Daly "Une page" 18).⁷² Furthermore, as Henri Daly affirms, "[e]ffectivement, plusieurs d'entre eux [les Japonais], en brousse, s'étaient installés sur le littoral, près des embouchures des rivières, face aux « passes » principales du récif corallien donnant accès au lagon, à proximité des tribus indigènes qu'ils auraient pu chercher à influencer" (80). It still remains unclear whether Watriama's observations on Japanese espionage were in fact valid.

Intrigued by questions of espionage, Dalmayrac insinuates the amounts of Japanese migrant-spies by underscoring the strategic manipulations and plans that

⁷² Watriama's case is extremely rare, as most Kanaks did not know how to read or write in French. As Dalmayrac later shows, Kanaks were on board Hurio's boat bringing him to the detention camp on which he saw the indigenous men described as "menaçants [dont les] yeux étaient exorbités" (*Les sentiers* 90).

the Japanese imperial government had with hopes to acquire New Caledonia and Australia. For instance, the narrator comments on the ease with which the Japanese networked with local communities. Such communication, as the narrator notes, extended to learning limited amounts of tribal languages and French:

Ainsi ces réseaux d'alliances et d'amitiés, renforcés par la répétition des échanges, la facilité avec laquelle [le Japonais] avait maîtrisé les rudiments des langues locales, mais aussi son charisme, lui valaient le respect des habitants. Cette situation avait suscité, d'avantage encore l'intérêt des hiérarques militaires de son pays et, partant, motivé, encore plus leur choix. (23)⁷³

The Japanese language was never spoken with Nippo-Kanaks perhaps in order to avoid garnering suspicion from members within the Japanese New Caledonian community. Communicating in Japanese could undermine potential Japanese migrant-spies' efforts and underscore their concerns on being caught or having their codes intercepted, even in the presence of their own kin.

Hurio is subsequently arrested on 10 December 1941, and is transported to a detainment camp in Nouville, New Caledonia, prior to arriving in Australia. The narration immediately shifts to examine Hurio's Nippo-Kanak daughter, Anaïs, who is placed in a Catholic boarding school with colonial French and Eurasian children

⁷³ To date, I have not recovered any records regarding the possibility of Nippo-Kanaks who would either be pro-Japanese spies or anti-French subjects enlisting in the French military to kill the French as a retaliation. However, Chad Denton's recent article on Franco-Japanese undercover spy Mme Berthe Rosalie Kitazawa Fouque who resided in New Caledonia from 1937 to 1941, related to the spy Marcelle Takako Kitazawa mentioned earlier by the narrator, sheds light on Franco-Japanese espionage in New Caledonia just prior to and after the Second World War. See Denton.

after her father's deportation. The narrator articulates the violent confrontation between Anaïs and a French girl:

La fille avait saisi, brutalement, les cheveux d'Anaïs dans sa main droite. Maintenant, elle lui secouait la tête en vociférant des injures, comme emportée par la déraison. Anaïs serra les dents, refusant de s'excuser. Un attroupement encercla la scène. L'élève donna un coup de pied. [...] L'humiliation devint trop forte. (191-193).

Anaïs musters the strength to counter and attack her aggressor to the point that the girl who had initially attacked Anaïs is covered in her own blood. Much like the opening scene where Hurio kills the French soldiers, this scene in which Hurio's daughter ultimately bloodies the French child allows readers to see Anaïs's reclaiming her strength and superiority vis-à-vis the French. The pure-White French child—a metaphor of colonial purity, nationalism, and racial authority—is ironically covered in her own French blood.

The abjectness of blood contaminating the pure mono-racial French body parallels the pathologization of the mixed-race body embodied by Anaïs. By virtue of their mixed-raceness, Francophone *métis* of Asian heritage “were seen as transgressing the interior frontiers of the supposedly fixed categories of racial and juridical difference upon which colonizers' prestige and authority rested” (Pomfret 243). Anaïs's temporary assertion of power over the French girl symbolically undercuts the superiority associated with French mono-raciality. The overlapping of Nippo-Kanak and French cultural spaces as the two children fight problematizes boundaries to the extent that Anaïs's transgression as Nippo-Kanak allows her to

weaken the ethno-racial and cultural hierarchies separating herself from her opponent.

The confrontation between Anaïs and her French opponent ends on a commentary on life in the Australian camps offered through Suzuka's perspective. Although historically the conditions in the Australian camps were far from inhumane, which was not the case in New Caledonia or *en route* to Australia as confirmed by Yuriko Nagata in *Unwanted Aliens*, Suzuka describes the extremely poor working conditions of the Japanese internees in Australia as well as the transformational effects that the camps had on the prisoners' psyche. He particularly notes the loss of certain Japanese qualities, such as the group-ism ethic.⁷⁴ Suzuka notes in this regard:

La dureté de la vie dans un camp transforme un homme, le rend individualiste et égoïste, concentre les inquiétudes et les espoirs dans son seul être et le rend étranger à la douleur de tous les autres. [...] C'est dans cette souffrance que surgit la nature profonde de l'homme. Méfiance, déception à l'endroit de celui que l'on croyait un ami pour toujours, surprise, bonne ou mauvaise, respect, estime pour un inconnu dont on se méfiait autrefois. C'est pour cela qu'il m'a été impossible d'avoir des nouvelles de notre ami [Hurio] quand nous étions en Australie. (227)

Although Suzuka's suggestion of inhumane treatment in the Australian camps does underscore the negativity with which the Japanese prisoners were associated, it is

⁷⁴ Steven Odin notes that Japanese group-ism refers to a cultural "phenomenon of 'Japanese group-consciousness' [that is] social, relational, contextual, interactional, familial, collective" and distinguishes itself from Eastern and Western conceptualizations of individualism (125).

necessary to reframe this negativity in light of the actual historical treatment of Japanese in the camps.

In this regard, Max Scholz who once worked at Camp Loveday—the same camp where Dalmayrac’s grandfather and the majority of Japanese prisoners were sent—recounts the generally favorable treatments within the camps:

The [Geneva Convention] also states that POWs and internees must be fed and cared for with the same volume of food and calories as Armed Forces personnel. The internees at Loveday certainly had that—in some cases, they were better off than some of the civilians in Australia. It is no wonder that some of our returned men were hostile towards our enemies when they returned home, finding out how POWs and internees were treated in Australia. [...] The camps were always clean and tidy. They did a marvelous job of making gardens to beautify the whole area. [...] The internees were supplied with essential toiletries such as toothpaste, soap, cigarettes and tobacco—all issued on ration. [...] The Japanese had a liking for kites and it was not uncommon [...] to see dozens of kites flying on any day. [...] [The Japanese] were fanatically anxious to please and were quite happy to do the menial tasks in and around the camp. (10-11)⁷⁵

Scholz’s witness testimony contrasts to the fictionalization of events that Dalmayrac incorporates in the novel. However, what remains true is the extent to which the Japanese remained separated from their kin left behind and the psychological trauma that presumably occurred during the separation process.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Scholz’s eye-witness testimony on the incarcerated Japanese in Australia remains the only one that I have been able to locate to date. I will presume the legitimacy of his observation despite there not being any other published records regarding what Scholz deems the “favorable” Japanese treatment in Australian detainment camps.

⁷⁶ Donna Nagata is one of the few academics who has published on Japanese American psychological trauma as a result of Second World War incarceration; however, no work to date considered the psychological trauma exhibited by Japanese New Caledonians. See Nagata and Kim.

The marginalized populaces of Nippo-Kanaks and Kanaks in New Caledonia underpinned their own survival in the face of an expanding French Empire in the South Pacific. The death of hope and dreams for Nippo-Kanaks and Kanaks, when read in conjunction with the novel's title, ironically suggests that, despite the initial abundance of avenues of successes in New Caledonia, the routes or *sentiers* to integration and cultural assimilation would remain closed and tainted by the blood and memories of their kin. The taboo with which Nippo-Kanaks would live persisted until the mid-2000s, at which point the Amicale Japonaise and a group of Japanese and New Caledonian academics opened up a closed case of history.

These organizations and academics called for the participation of Nippo-Kanaks and Japanese descendants throughout the island, which finally led to a renewed revisiting of a saturnine past. *Les sentiers de l'espoir* provides a key voice to the Nippo-Kanak populace that had been silenced for nearly half a century. The novel itself serves as a receptacle of intergenerational memory embodying the depictions of a neglected ethno-racial history. It is this trans-oceanic connectedness with the Nippo-Kanak history—a *métis* history—that serves as perhaps the most symbolic form of epistemic and affective kinship. Dalmayrac's novel is a carrier of a Francophone Nippo-Kanak epistemology, rooted in trauma and cross-cultural *métissages*, that lives on for years to come.

V. Conclusion: Francophone Japanese New Caledonian *Métissages*

This chapter's progression from a historical to a literary analysis was informed by primary and secondary sources, as well as first-hand testimony of Nippo-Kanaks and descendants of Japanese New Caledonians. To present the historical and literary perspectives of Nippo-Kanak identity (and the various trials and tribulations that these *métis(es)* endured under the French Empire), I propose as an *ouverture* the necessity that future research be carried out on the post-Second World War status of Nippo-Kanaks in Japan. Dalmayrac's novel ends only after the Japanese internees are repatriated, and the historical testimony of third- and fourth-generation Japanese New Caledonians usually ends with their going to Japan—over sixty years after the end of the Second World War. Younger-generation Japanese New Caledonians would retrace their paternal lineage, only to be faced with an insurmountable language barrier. Further research is thus necessary to elucidate how former Japanese internees who elect to return to New Caledonia, much like Dalmayrac's Suzuka, reintegrate within an expansive French Pacific society, particularly within the microdynamics of Kanak clans and French territories whose presence and modernities have been inevitably shaped by the Japanese.

The *métissages* manifested from within the Kanak tribal spaces, as well as in non-Kanak spaces, all converge toward the production of transcultural knowledges held in place by the forces of affectivity. Namely, the affects or emotions that bond Kanaks to Japanese, Japanese to French, and Kanak to French—all triangulated and

regulated under a system of French coloniality—take shape because these differing ethno-races claim a shared ground from within a mono-racial, progeny-oriented colonial system (Pomfret 279). The transoceanic expanse from Japan to New Caledonia represented by Francophone Japanese New Caledonian *métissages* underscores the extent to which the epistemology of the French Empire in New Caledonia—and most generally in the French Asia Pacific—transcends and infiltrates the boundaries of Kanak and Japanese cultural spheres.

These kinship and affective bonds resulting from Nippo-Kanak couplings and children are seemingly infused with a trauma-inflicting French colonial epistemology. French Pacific coloniality, reflective of the power-hungry motivations that had driven Japanese imperialism, serves as a sociohistorical, economic, and political system permeating the boundaries of Asian and Kanak cultural and geographic territories. This colonial interaction with these minority and doubly-marginalized spheres exacerbates once the French colonial epistemology is threatened.

In this context, although Japanese New Caledonian *métissages* revolve around the ethnocide of the Japanese on the island, it is the (1) epistemic, affective, biological interrelations among Japanese, Kanaks, and French; (2) their kinships; and (3) the trauma-inflicted memories from a colonial system that have and will continue to proliferate within the epistemologies of future *métis(se)* generations. Future generations, including reader-witnesses of Nippo-Kanak literature and

history, hold the possibility to carry the epistemologies, affects, and kinship bonds from former generations. The multicultural *métis* future of New Caledonia—whose history has been shaped by deaths and cultural rebirths from Kanaks, French, and Asians—truly makes New Caledonia, in the famous words of novelist Katsura Morimura, “l’île la plus proche du paradis.”

Photographic Annex



Fig. 12. Shelter built by Japanese prisoners at Camp Woolenook. The Kanak influence on the architecture is visible at this Australian internment camp.

Coll. Pamela Bond



Fig. 13. Japanese prisoners eating at Camp Woolenook. The prisoner on the far left is identified as Ichimatsu Matsumoto, the grandfather of current Honorary Japanese Consulate of New Caledonia, Marie-José Michel.

Coll. Pamela Bond



Fig. 14. Camp Loveday. (Loveday, Australia)
Coll. National Archives of Australia



Fig. 15. Arrival of Japanese prisoners-of-war. (Australia)
Coll. National Archives of Australia



Fig. 16. Japanese's relinquishing of personal belongings. Valuables are handed to Australian officials.
Coll. National Archives of Australia



Fig. 17. Japanese architecture at Camp Loveday. The Japanese-style bridge and the shrine (behind) can be noticed.
Coll. National Archives of Australia



Fig. 18. Japanese husband and Kanak wife. (Anonymous)
Coll. Tsuda

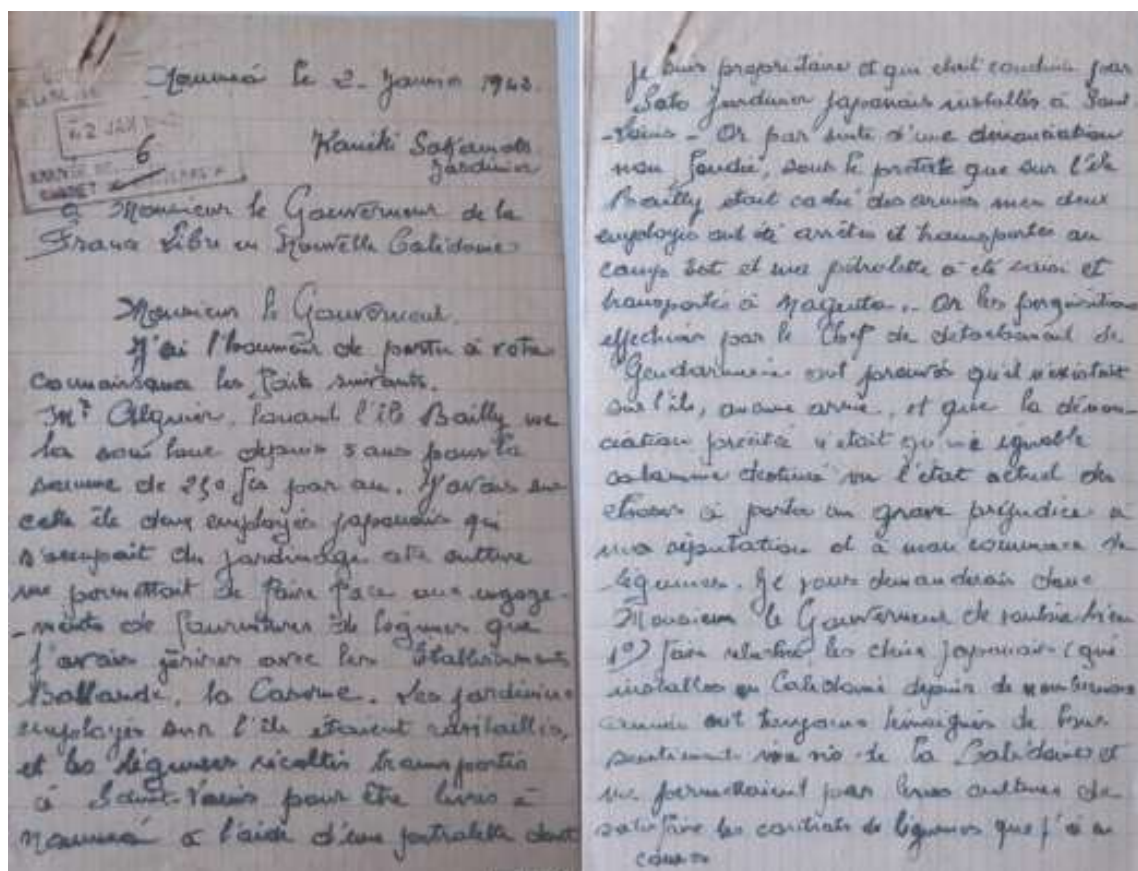


Fig. 19. Sakamoto Kaniki's letters. Letters written by suspected Japanese spy and chief gardener, Sakamoto, to the French governor of New Caledonia on 2 January 1923.

Coll. Michel



Fig. 20. Sophie Nakamura. She is the daughter of Otojiro Nakamura.
Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland



Fig. 21. Japanese descendants. Anaïs Eto-Mélissa, Jeannette (Tomiko) Yokoyama-Redon, Marie-José Takamouné-Michel, Adéline (Takei) Morioka-Collobert, and Marie-Thérèse Collobert-Levant (daughter of Adéline). [left to right]
Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland



Fig. 22. Members of the Association Amicale Japonaise. (Nouméa, 2016)

Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland



Fig. 23. Poya, New Caledonia. According to Dalmayrac, the dense forest that can be seen at the foot of the mountains is the location where the opening of *Les sentiers de l'espoir* takes place.
Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland



Fig. 24. Location of arrest. The exact location in Poya, New Caledonia, where Dalmayrac's Japanese grandfather lived, worked, and was arrested by the French military. (2016)
Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland

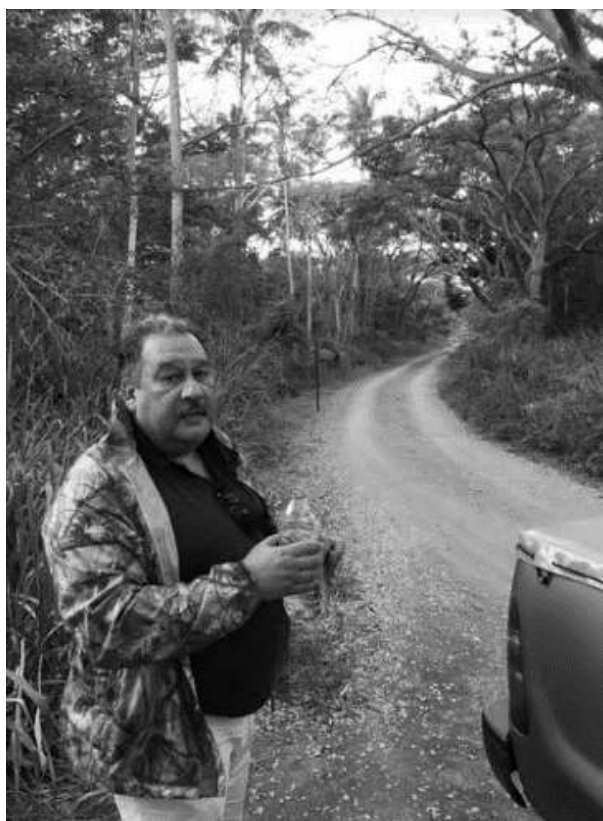


Fig. 25. Road on which Dalmayrac's grandfather was transported. His grandfather would later be deported, along with the other Japanese immigrants, to Australia. Among the many inspirations of his novel, *Les sentiers de l'espoir*, this meandering path evokes the visuality of work's title. (2016)

Coll. Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland

Chapter IV:
**The Indian Ocean and French Empire: Racialization, Animality, and *Métissage* in
Daniel Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation***

*Multiple et mouvant, aussi sûrement que nos corps sont plus
liquides que ne le laisse croire le regard, aussi vrai que
notre terre est bleue comme une bulle... Au milieu
de l'eau, écrire pour dire que tout être
est une île.*

— Shenaz Patel, *Paradis blues* (57-58)

Borders are a technique to measure the worth of foreigners.

— Simone Abram et al. (12)

I. Introduction

The Indian Ocean represents a complex region wherein the Mascarene Islands, formally comprised of Mauritius, La Réunion, and Rodrigues, have witnessed the interactions of multiple ethnicities, races, and colonial powers over the course of four centuries. The Mascarenes, discovered by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century with the Dutch and French following suit a century later, maintain numerous parallels with the Caribbean. Similar to the Antilles where plantation economies and slavery defined the historical backdrop from which *métissages* emerged, the slavery-based colonial societies of the Mascarene Islands generated what Françoise Vergès calls “an

intermixing of groups, new cultural forms, new languages, and an identity that remained indecisive” within the Indian Ocean territories (*Monsters* 10).

Inspired by Édouard Glissant’s work, Vergès appropriates and situates Glissant’s notion of *créolisation*—a term used to designate the cross-pollinations of cultural contact zones—to fit an Indo-Oceanic geographical context. However, refusing to conflate Caribbean theoretical terminology with Indian Ocean phenomena, Vergès specifies that *créolisation* in the Mascarene context—or *métissage* as she prefers—suggests “the endless movement of waves on the island coasts bringing new elements while taking away old elements. The line of the coast slowly changed, erosions takes its toll, but the ocean with its movements adds new deposits” (“Indian-Oceanic” 137). The visually shapeshifting, seemingly endless nature of the ocean become a model from which she fashions a theoretical iteration of *créolisation* to characterize the specificity of Indo-Oceanic identity as one defined by an unending sense of alterity:

The vocabulary of Caribbean discourse [cannot] describe Reunion [because] the Mascarene Islands, to which Reunion belongs, are not an archipelago that prefigures postmodern chaos. [...] Isolation and separation are the markers from which the population invents its territory. Being a Reunionnais is always *being a foreigner on one’s land*. (“Island” 164-65)

Although Vergès surprisingly excludes Mauritius in the context of her analysis, she suggests that *métissage* can be situated within an Indian Ocean context because the innumerable cross-cultural and ethno-racial syncretisms witnessed in the Indian Ocean region (re)produce and erase marginalized histories.

What Mauritius and La Réunion share with the Francophone Antilles is the shaping of both islands' modernities around African and Asian slave labor and the overlapping powers of colonial empires in the surrounding oceanic spaces. Michel Mollat du Jourdain notes that, historically, "la traite arabe des esclaves a duré un millénaire [aux Mascareignes], du IXe siècle au XIXe siècle, et n'a pas été interrompue, mais à peine concurrence par les Européens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles" (46). The overlapping of slave trade in the Mascarene Islands, marked by Arab and European power structures, renders the Indian Ocean a site where memories, social configurations, and coloniality intersect. Like the slavery-based society of the Caribbean and its maritime networks with Africa and Asia, the islands of La Réunion and Mauritius see the extent to which the co-presence of Afrasian and European contact zones in the same region produced creolizations or *métissages* while upholding the social institution of colonization. These cross-cultural contacts, revolving around indentured servitude and slave trades, gave rise to "culture[s] de frange" or marginalized hybrid cultures (Ottino 12).⁷⁷

Given that La Réunion and Mauritius were initially uninhabited, both islands' historico-cultural landscapes and the rise of predominately mixed-race minority populations on each island were shaped by their specific engagements with Afrasian slave trade and European empires. The Réunion and Mauritian notion of creole suggests the openness of cross-cultural dialogue informed by both nations' histories with

⁷⁷ Paul Ottino defines this phrase, initially conceived by Anthony H. Johns, as a "culture-franca à composantes arabo-persanes, goujerati, indienne et indonésiennes, familières aux archéologues des emporiums africains et asiatiques de l'océan Indien" (12).

slavery-centered colonization. Much like Vergès's appropriation of Glissant's term *créolisation*, other scholars, including Françoise Lionnet, have extended Glissant's notion to examine the relationships between personal and collective identities and space.

Born in Mauritius, Lionnet extends Glissant's notion of *créolisation* into the Mauritian setting and fuses the Mauritian coloration of *créolisation* with her term *logiques métisses* to posit "[t]he global mongrelization or métissage of cultural forms [that] creates complex identities and interrelated, if not overlapping, spaces" ("Logiques" 7). The *métissage* of multicultural forms that Lionnet notes refers predominately to Mauritian populations of Indians, Africans, Malagasy, Malays, and subjects of mixed ethno-racial origins that comprise the collective identity of Mauritius. La Réunion similarly exhibits a collective identity rooted in *métissages* as a result of settler colonialism. Recognizing the extent to which the Indian Ocean's transnational, *métis* identity is beset with anticolonial resistances from the most marginalized, Vergès underlines the struggles with which the Réunionnais are continually faced. In this regard, she affirms that the Indo-Oceanic identities exhibited by those residing in the Mascarene Islands represent "new links between diasporas, produced by indentured work, colonialism, imperialism [that] threaten the Creole African Asian world of the Indian Ocean" ("Writing on Water" 253).

Seeking to understand the complex relationship between transcultural dialogues and identity politics within the Indo-Oceanic region, scholars have characteristically focused on the historical connections that the region maintains with Africa and Asia. In

this regard, Srilata Ravi and Vergès have offered generative analyses of historical events but have also included literary productions from the Mascarene Islands as complementary perspectives into the region's history. Gaurav Desai's recent contribution to this discussion with *Commerce with the Universe: Africa, India and the Afrasian Imagination* (2013) has advanced understandings of the Afrasian presence in the Indian Ocean by examining Afrasian literary and socio-historical contexts. What is noteworthy in Desai's work in addition is the extent to which the Afrasian dimension of Indo-Oceanic *métissages* privileges French-controlled India as the major locus from which Mauritian and La Réunion history emerges. For instance, Bertrand-François Mahé, comte de La Bourdonnais, brought the first population of Indian migrants into the Mascarene Islands from Pondicherry, India—an eighteenth century trading post in French India that oversaw contact with both Africa and the Mascarene Islands. The historic lack of attention to French India has been a characteristic of French postcolonial history.

This historical lacuna is perhaps most vehemently addressed by Philippe Decraene in 1954: “Les manuels d’histoire de la colonisation ou ceux d’histoire de la décolonisation ne disent mot de la fin de l’Inde française, pour notre plus grande stupéfaction” (185). Recently, however, the increasing contributions to understanding postcolonial contexts surrounding the Indian Ocean have been made possible by scholars raised in India, Mauritius, and La Réunion, who have demonstrated the importance that India plays in shaping Indian Ocean modernities. Furthermore, literary works by Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Barlen Pyamootoo, Marc Vigié, Axel Gauvin, and

Amitav Ghosh have offered narrations centering on Indian or Hindu cultural specificities by relying on or making allusions to Euro-Indian postcolonial relations.

Despite the increased interest in Francophone scholarship centering on the Mascarene Islands and Afrasia, little scholarship has been devoted to La Réunion and Mauritius's relationship to Asiatic nations outside of India. As this chapter will demonstrate, the Mascarene Islands maintain formative historical relations with China primarily through indentured servitude. However, as Wang Gungwu has suggested, before the third century prior to Portuguese, Dutch, and French control of this territory, Chinese merchants had long ventured into the Indian Ocean for trading purposes. Merchants would in fact use vessels borrowed from Indians and Arabs (Gungwu 69). Gungwu's research into the Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean makes use of numerous Chinese-language sources on the subject, with T'ieh-sheng Chang's *Chung Fei chiao-t'ung shih ch'u-t'an* (1965) and David H. Shinn and Joshua Eisenman's *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement* (2012) serving as two of the most comprehensive studies on Afro-Chinese relations. The increasing number of studies on Afro-Chinese relations shows that sociohistorical exchanges between the two countries can in fact shed light on Asian diasporas into the neighboring Mascarene Islands.

The rise of Chinese-language studies on Sino-Indo-Oceania began in the early 1980s with publications in the French language appearing around the same time: Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane's *La Diaspora Chinoise dans l'océan Indien Occidental* (1981), followed by her *La Réunion vue de Taïwan* (1981); in the same year, Dominique Durand publishes *Les Chinois de la Réunion* (1981). Over a decade later, Edith Wong-

Hee-Kam publishes *La Diaspora chinoise aux Mascareignes: Le cas de la Réunion* (1996). Subsequently, Live Yu-Son's anthropological article on Sino-Reunion *métissage*, "Illusion identitaire et métissage culturel chez les « Sinoi » de la Réunion" (2003), appears prior to the Chinese media delegation's first inaugural arrival to La Réunion in 2011—a moment marking renewed economic relations with China. Yet, beyond the historicizations outlined by Chinese and Indian Ocean scholars, the treatment of literary relations between the Mascarene Islands, China, India, and Africa remains perhaps the least represented in current Francophone Indian Ocean scholarship.

Given this apparent lacuna, I will focus on the Francophone Mascarenes and their sociocultural and literary histories during the twentieth century as they relate to the East Asian presence in this area of the Indian Ocean. Expanding on the scholarship of Édith Wong-Hee-Kam, Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane, and Dominique Durand, this chapter will offer a historicization of East Asian-Indo Oceanic relations from a literary perspective. In this context, I will analyze Francophone Afrasian poet Daniel Honoré's Creole-French poetic work *Ma Chine-nation* (1994) by first placing it in conversation with his earlier autofictional work written completely in Creole, *Louis Rédon* (1980). In my subsequent analysis of *Ma Chine-nation*, I argue that, similarly to Ook Chung's and Jimmy Ly's relationship with their respective homelands, Honoré's poetic subject (the poetic *je*) exhibits sentiments of delocalization while qualifying China as an abject region. His focus shifts to treatments of maroons in La Réunion where he ascribes an Afrasian *métissage* onto the maroon figures all the while animalizing them. The maroon-animal figure becomes a metaphorical stand-in for the poetic subject who, by

virtue of his Afrasian and human-animal *métissages*, becomes a signifier of the decolonial histories of Africa and Asia.

II. *Métissages littéraires*: Francophone East Asian *Métis* Literatures in the Indian Ocean

This section will survey Chinese, French, and English-language works that shed light on the neglected histories of Asiatic migration into the region before evoking the few primary literatures written by French-language East Asian writers of the Mascarenes. The challenge in examining the productions of Sino-Réunionnais literature is largely connected to the paucity of existing French language texts written by East Asian *métis* authors. The first East Asian literature to be produced in the Mascarene Islands can be traced to La Réunion where the instructors and headmasters of Franco-Chinese schools publicized their writings, despite the few works of theirs being published. As both teachers and writers, Emile Ng Tock Mine and Ho Ching Ti were known to have published works written in Chinese in La Réunion detailing the cultural histories and Chinese diasporas to La Réunion during the nineteenth century. The didactic qualities of Ng Tock Mine and Ho Ching Ti have defined their works as texts that preserve a rapidly eroding history of the initial Chinese entrance into the Mascarene Islands, as well as various aspects of traditional Chinese culture during a time of political unrest in the Mainland.

As Wong-Hee-Kam has noted, Ho Ching Ti's works occlude the historical background of the Chinese laborers' resistive violence in La Réunion during the mid-nineteenth century:

Ces Chinois d'outre-mer, traités en esclaves, se livraient à leur tâche de façon humble, et c'est toujours avec bonne volonté qu'ils accomplissaient leurs travaux. C'est pour cela que rapidement, ils purent acquérir les faveurs de leurs maîtres et l'amitié des gens de cette région. (402)

The elision of certain aspects of Chinese history by Ho Ching Ti underscores the nationalism and pride toward previous generations of Chinese migrants on the island. The Hakka author Emile Ng Tock Mine, on the other hand, married a Chinese-Creole upon his arrival in La Réunion in 1935. Along with having opened his own business on the island, he published two bilingual French-Chinese works in 1984 and 1988 on Guandi and traditional Chinese heritage, but the majority of his works remain unpublished to this day.

Among Ng Tock Mine's unpublished works is *Da tao II* (1988) in which he firmly criticizes the spread of Western values in La Réunion. Ng Tock Mine notes this criticism in the preface of *Da tao II* for which Wong-Hee-Kam offers a French translation from the original Chinese:

Il ne faut pas croire les gens qui nous disent qu'il faut tout apprendre de l'Occident et l'imiter. Il y a même certains écrits (dans les journaux) qui nous demandent de nous fondre dans la société occidentale. À mon avis, ce serait une grosse erreur. (401)

Ng Tock Mine additionally underscores the importance of reverting to the old Chinese traditions as the Chinese community in La Réunion progressively accept Western value systems. Ng Tock Mine writes in “Wei woqiaobao de zhonggao”:

Désormais, nous les Chinois d’Outre-Mer,
Admirons les valeurs venues de l’Ouest.
Nos meurs et notre langage se sont occidentalisés.
D’âge en âge, on transmet l’éducation par la Tradition.
Prenez garde d’oublier les rites des Ancêtres !

(qtd. in Wong-Hee-Kam 425)

What Ho Ching Ti’s and Ng Tock Mine’s texts demonstrate is the necessity for a pro-Chinese, conservational history to be recounted through literature, which may elide certain historical segments that would cast the Chinese in a negative light. The persevering acts of struggle with which most Chinese migrant families faced in a Francophone nation, coupled with the transmission of traditional Chinese culture in La Réunion, function as the main themes of Ho Ching Ti’s and Ng Tock Mine’s works.

In effect, the epistemological construction of China and a Sino-Réunionnaise history from the eyes of the Chinese residing in La Réunion coincides with the dominant and more widely accessible representation of the Chinese published by French newspapers. Among the hundreds of Chinese residing in La Réunion since the early twentieth century, there remain only two Chinese author-educators who have proposed their works to a contemporary audience: The generation that follows theirs has moved away from the Chinese language to embrace Réunionnais creole. By the 1980s, the Chinese in La Réunion and in Mauritius—notably *métis* or being of Chinese

decent—are known to have severed themselves from the Chinese language, whereas the Chinese in Madagascar are known to have embraced Chinese and continue to communicate in the Asian language (Paulette 59).

The invisibility that surrounds Chinese-language writings circulating in the Mascarene Islands, such as those by Ng Tock Mine and Ho Ching Ti, nevertheless produces a preserved epistemology of La Réunion-based Chinese traditional history for those who have access to it. The continued push toward multilingualism in French, Chinese, and Réunion Creole becomes an important factor, as the East Asian presence in the Mascarenes continues to preserve its *métis* heritage in the Indian Ocean but through multilingual means. This move from traditional Chinese texts about Sino-Réunion/Sino-Mauritian historical relations to literary productions in bilingual or multilingual form attests to the *métis* interactions between Chinese and Creoles who have embraced both the French language and French-based creole languages.

The shift toward a multilingual, multicultural modernity that Indian Ocean societies exhibit—specifically, those of La Réunion and Mauritius—is one built on interpenetrating ethno-cultural *métissages*. These *métissages* derive from a back history of Asian enslavement and indentured servitude, and bilingual literary productions—forms of textual *métissages*—become a means through which an epistemology and affectivity of Chinese social cohesion and diasporic history are created. The establishment of kinship networks across the Indian Ocean between the Indian Ocean and China was set in place by the mediating role that the French exercise in La

Réunion, as France assisted the Chinese population with their cultural integration process. An overlooked phenomenon, much like the situation in New Caledonia between the Japanese and French, is the proliferation of French-Chinese marriages or exogamous relations between the French and Chinese in La Réunion during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In this regard, one witnessed the categorical separation of Westerners as “Big Whites” and “Small Whites” in La Réunion whereby the former would maintain control over plantations and lands, whereas the latter would be considered the lower, working-class group of Whites (Wong-Hee-Kam 428). The similar socioeconomic positions that “Small Whites” exhibited vis-à-vis the Chinese facilitated the interactions between both groups, which permitted “une certaine mobilité sociale et interethnique qu’interdit généralement la société de plantation, [et] la présence des Blancs à tous les niveaux économiques de l’île nuance les barrières entre les groupes ethniques qui sont si fortement affirmées dans la société de plantation” (Benoist, *Développement* 72). The sociocultural interactions between proletarian Whites and the Chinese moved toward the production of mixed-race children in La Réunion, allowing for ethno-racial and biological creolizations to operate between the proletariat class. Accordingly, economic positions within La Réunion’s French-Asian-African society mobilized exogamy as a means through which French-East Asian *métissages* proliferated. Exogamy also advanced the creation of epistemic and affective channels between French and East Asian communities.

The practice of exogamy in La Réunion was thus an important mediator that catalyzed French-Asian relations. The kinship networks formed from exogamic relations between French and East Asians superimposed transcultural contact zones between French proletariats and Asian laborers. Yet, the kinship networks that were established among East Asians did not transcend into the African communities. Historically, the relationship between Chinese coolies and African slaves had been strained, as noted by Ernest Duvergier de Hauranne in 1865:

Les deux races vivent à part (Noirs et Chinois) et se détestent de toutes leurs forces. [...] Leur caractère même les oppose. Les coolies sont en général mélancoliques, concentrés et méditatifs, les Noirs au contraire aiment les plaisirs bruyants. (qtd. in Helly)

The exclusionary kinship network between French and East Asians vis-à-vis the Africans (or as they are known in La Réunion, “les Cafres”) underlined the limitations of spatial contact between ethnic and economic minorities of the island. The affective bonds between working-class French and Chinese, motivated by an affectivity “de se faire connaître à l’Autre,” gave rise to metaphysical *métissages* and kinship links formed by socioeconomic status, race, ethno-culture, and sexuality (Wong-Hee-Kam 429).

Nevertheless, the manner that Sino-African relations are depicted in La Réunion via literature—that is, texts written by Afrasian writers such as Jean-François Sam-Long, Daniel Honoré, and Jean-Claude Thing-Léoh—contrasts with the actual historical

presentations of conflicts between Africans and Asians.⁷⁸ In effect, the epistemology of Africa and China created by Afrasian *métis* writers of La Réunion reconstructs these two nations through various imageries and metaphors that define the two diametrically opposed regions.

The diasporic communities of Chinese and Africans were thus constructed via three major outlets of the written word: first, through the preserved testimony of those migrant workers or plantation masters; second, through those texts found in French-language newspapers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and third, through the testimonies and *romans* written by descendants—both mixed-race and non-mixed—of Chinese and African laborers in French and Creole.⁷⁹ What many of these descendant-writers share in common, including Jean-François Sam-Long and Daniel Honoré, is that their representation of Africa is grounded in idyllic beauty, whereas Asia becomes regarded less favorably. As Sam-Long notes in 1994,

[j]e parle d'Afrique parce que je la ressens plus fortement que la Chine, même si mon grand-père était un vrai Cantonais. [...] Je me sens plus aux confluents de l'Afrique qui bouillonne en moi parce que j'étais plus proche de ma grand-mère [malgache] que de mon grand-père. L'Afrique était une terre de souffrance hier et elle l'est encore aujourd'hui. [J]e considère [l'Afrique] comme une bénédiction, comme une possibilité de se réconcilier avec soi et avec le monde. (qtd. in Wong-Hee-Kam 412-3)

⁷⁸ Included in this brief list of authors is Monique Boyer, whose *métis* father's parents are Chinese and African; she recounts her life in her text *Métisse* (1992). Numerous scholars have offered critical analyses of this work, including Anjali Prabhu's chapter, which cogently elucidates Boyer's autobiographical thematics of *métissage*, sexuality, and identity in La Réunion (Prabhu 19-34).

⁷⁹ For those *métis* writers of Chinese origin in La Réunion, including Honoré and Sam-Long, the Chinese language is notably not used in their writings—a phenomenon that underscores the cognitive distance that Francophone East Asian *métis* writers take from their Asian homeland.

The affective sense of *bénédiction* that arises as Sam-Long considers the homeland of his grandmother is informed by the cultural history of African slavery in La Réunion.

Much like Honoré, Sam-Long's affinity for the subaltern Africans is an affective kinship binding him to the memories and histories of African slaves under French rule in La Réunion. This affectivity, underscored by the acknowledgement of collective suffering of Africans in La Réunion, also extends into the relationship that he has with his Madagascan grandmother. A *porte-parole* for the African voice, fettered by centuries of colonial violence in the Atlantic and Indo-Oceanic slave trade, Sam-Long and Honoré offer a window into Africa and China via their position as *métis* Afrasian writers of French and Creole. The linguistic choice to write in French or Réunion Creole rather than Chinese underscores the distance that these writers take vis-à-vis China, yet the choice to write in French paradoxically taints their writing with linguistic signs of coloniality while liberating the Afrasian voice and *métis* culture encapsulated therein.

A writer of French and Réunion creole, Honoré posits the inevitable paradox of writing in French—a paradox that evokes the decolonial statuses of Africa and Asia vis-à-vis La Réunion's colonial history: “[J]e ne rougirai pas de l'étymologie française, conscient que je suis de ma dépendance de colonisé. [N]ous ne devons pas avoir honte: l'histoire en a décidé ainsi” (*Louis Redona* 5). For Afrasian *métis* writers in La Réunion, import is placed more on personalized rapports with countries through *métissages*—linguistic and ethno-cultural—rather than narrative discourses that vehemently oppose coloniality.

Another example of this shift from vehement anti-colonial discourse to a narration oriented specifically toward polyvalent *métissages* can be seen in Jean-Claude Thing-Léoh's poetry. Born 14 February 1940, in Saint-Denis, La Réunion, Thing-Léoh is known for his intermixing of Creole and French in what he and Sam-Long call "poèmes-chansons." As Sam-Long notes regarding Thing-Léoh's creative works in his preface, "[s]es poèmes-chansons redonnent à l'homme toute sa liberté et sa dignité. La misère, le chômage, la superstition sont les mille et une facettes d'une même réalité: l'homme face à son destin. Une tendresse naturelle pour les humble gens" (Sam-Long 196). Just as much as Honoré's writing, Thing-Léoh aptly engages in linguistic *métissage* between Réunion Créole and French while infusing into the text a cultural *métissage* through which the various facets of Réunionnais life are manifested.

Although Thing-Léoh's works have become difficult to find, a consideration of Thing-Léoh offers important insight into multicultural relations and *métissages* in La Réunion from the 1970s. Thing-Léoh's *poème-chanson* entitled "Pti Marie," itself a multivocalic textual form fusing *oralité chantée* and the *parole écrite*, mixes Creole and French to celebrate the pastime of bonding around cooking and the specific dishes of the region:

Tomate pocpoc ou tomate arbuste,
 Piment martin ou piment nain,
 Catang catang
 Calou pilon !
 Catang catang
 Pilez mon rougay, calou pilon,
 Pilez mon rougay pour Pti Marie ! [...]

T'en souviens-tu, Pti Marie ?
Te souviens-tu de notre jungade
Qui dérivait sur les eaux glauques-
Douce ballade [...]
Ninics, tec-tecs, zoizo-béliés (qtd. in Sam-Long, 197-8)

Like Jimmy Ly's and Ook Chung's use of food to convey the cultural *métissages* of their homelands, Thing-Léoh mentions the popular Réunion dish of *rougay*, a local Indian-inspired chutney mixed with vegetables, meats, tomatoes, and peppers. Enriched by a diverse array of foods, La Réunion's gastronomy is influenced by Malagasy, French, Indian, and Chinese cuisine. The *jungade* appearing after the *rougay* refers to a Creole word meaning a wooden raft. The *jungade* constitutes an element of olden Réunionnais culture where gatherers would often collect corals out on water. Thing-Léoh's *rougay* is symbolic of the multicultural cross-pollinations between France and Afrasia in La Réunion. This evocation of Franco-Afrasian relations, coupled with the specific mentioning of olden aspects of La Réunion culture, like the rides on *jungades*, advances a representation of multiculturalism around the theme of nostalgia.

In perhaps a more recognized *poème-chanson* "Babasec," Thing-Léoh describes his daughter's possession by a *babasec*, a Réunionnais term referring to a dangerous child-ghoul associated with witchcraft. Thing-Léoh evokes the three major deistic figures of Africa and Asia to save his daughter from the *babasec*. The act of calling upon these figures further underscores the multiplicity of spiritual presences in La Réunion, in addition to the variegated gastronomic influences on the island:

Grigri

Dans un carrefour
Ma fille piétine
Un grigri !

Ma promesse à Kâli ne l'a pas protégée !
Le sorcier m'a ruiné,
Ma fille est mourante ! [...]

Une tête de mort
A rendu ma fille toc-toc ;
Un esprit comorien
L'a rendue baroque [...]

Venez mon père
Venez exorciser ma fille !
Retirez-nous cette malédiction
Emmenez votre Évangile par précaution ! (62-3)

The three religious figures upon which the father calls—namely, Kâli, the Hindu goddess; “un spirit comories” from Comoros; and the Christian “Évangile”—reflect the multicultural Afrasian presence in La Réunion. The characteristic erasure of China (or any usage of the Chinese language) is similar to the noticeable erasure of China in Sam-Long’s works.

In this regard, Sam-Long’s side-stepping of China is a personal decision that is shaped by familial kinship bonds with his African ancestry. The emotions that Thing-Léoh offers through the interplay between Réunion creole and French, as well as those captured by Sam-Long in his texts, such as *Mme Desbassyns* (1985) or *L’arbre de violence* (1994), underscore the predisposition to place-bound affects and epistemologies that do not extend toward China. The significance of erasing China from their works is the *refoulement* of culturo-historic and linguistic signifiers associated

with China itself. This erasure subsequently denies the signifiers of Chinese culture to operate within their texts. Yet, Asia is to some degrees represented in Sam-Long's and Thing-Léoh's works through India, thereby opening the corridor to Asiatic interactions, albeit through Indian contexts. As Maxime Schouppe further notes, "[Sam-Long] doit permettre aux utopies de continuer à vivre dans l'imaginaire d'une société" (10). Sam-Long's and Thing-Léoh's engagements with Africa and La Réunion, respectively, are channeled through narrations fixating on the *métissages* of indigenous, local roots and cultures through a mix of French and Réunion creole. These predominant representations of Africa and/or La Réunion in Sam-Long's and Thing-Léoh's works construct a personalized relationship with these two countries. In effect, the images of these two regions—through linguistic and culturo-historic *métissages*—create an epistemology or *imaginaire* of Africa and La Réunion proper to them and to their readers.

Daniel Honoré, on the other hand, offers various representations of Asia and Africa that Sam-Long and Thing Léoh do not include in their works. Honoré thus creates and incorporates in his works personalized constructions of his Chinese and African ancestral lands. Sharing similar thematic overtones with Sam-Long's literature, Honoré's various works, in particular *Ma Chine-nation*, foregrounds the *retour aux sources* theme that notably pervades French-language East Asian *métis* literary productions. What is striking about Francophone Sino-African writers in the Mascarene Islands is the extent to which these authors, like Ly, produce a meditative reflection on *métissage* upon leaving the Chinese mainland disappointed. Arguably, as evidenced in

Sino-African writers of the Mascarenes, China becomes less a space of belonging and unity than one precipitating affective fragmentations—characteristics that define *métissage* in the Asia (Indo)Oceanic context. Unlike the literal and figurative consumption of roots characterizing the Francophone East Asian *métis* works analyzed in prior chapters, Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation* problematizes the question of roots and identity through abjection, animality, and racialization.

III. Daniel Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation*: Abjecting China

This section's objective is to offer a close-reading of the French-language portion of Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation* to consider how the poetic subject not only envisions his affective relationship with China, but also deconstructs the idyllic visions that he had initially maintained of his paternal homeland. The transformative nature of the poetic subject's relationship with China and Africa is generated by his pilgrimage to China and his continued questioning of his *métis* identity. As a secondary reasoning behind the breadth of this close-reading is to present readers with the actual French-language text of *Ma Chine-nation*—a rare work written in both French and Réunion Creole that remains uncirculated outside of La Réunion.

A lifelong poet-author, educator, and activist, Honoré was born in Saint-Benoît, La Réunion, in 1939 to a Chinese father and an Afro-Malagasy mother. Honoré's father arrived in La Réunion from Canton, China, at the beginning of the twentieth century, and his mother's descendants were slaves (qtd. in Lafortune). Participating in the

military during the 1970s within the Reunion Communist Party, Honoré has served as an English teacher, activist, poet-writer, and founding member of multiple Chinese heritage associations. Inspired more by the works of Steinbeck and Amado than the French classics, he began his career as a writer during the 1970s. Honoré remarks that he chose to publish works written in Réunion Créole so that “la langue créole soit reconnue en tant que langue porteuse d’écriture, capable de transmettre des choses par écrit” (qtd. in Lafortune). Although Honoré is multilingual and capable of expressing himself orally and through writing in French, Réunion Creole, and Chinese, Honoré does not produce works written in the Chinese language.

Although at the heart of many works by Honoré one sees a meditative reflection of his ancestral land, the specific choice to avoid writing in Chinese—much like Sam-Long and Thing-Léoh—parallels the act of erasing the ancestral language from the literary work. The purposeful “forgetting” of a maternal language, much like Ook Chung’s inability to express himself in coherent Korean, correlates to a *refoulement* of the language and the sociocultural signifiers associated with the language’s country. Honoré, Sam-Long, and Thing-Léoh—the three major Francophone East Asian *métis* writers in the Mascarenes—characteristically subject China to processes of erasure. The visibility of China in the works of these three authors is one predicated on the content-related (and *not* linguistic) exposures and presentations of China in their literary productions. As I will demonstrate below, Honoré’s China is one thematically described

as an abjected land marked by mortality and cruelty.⁸⁰ Similar to Jimmy Ly's disappointing *retour aux sources* to China recounted in *Adieu l'étang aux chevrettes*, Honoré's visit to his homeland is met with disappointment.

Honoré's specific relationship with China emanates from the memory of his beloved father who arrives in La Réunion in 1908. Much of Honoré's familial history is available via his first autobiographical work *Louis Redona* (1980) wherein the narrator provides historical and familial information in Réunion creole. Honoré's father is given the name Chu Shao who is married to a Malagasy woman named Sabine:

Sabine té y aime ecoute a li raconté tout voyaz li lave fé [...] comment li lavé quitté « Kwangtung » promier fois en « min nep cent vit » [...] parce que li té y vé voir d'aut' pays ; combien d'fois li lavé rotourne en Chine ; comment li la vive « Singapor », Manille, Madagascar ec Maurice. (*Louis Redona* 21)

[Sabine (his wife) would enjoy listening to him recount all the voyages he made [...] how he had left Guangdong for the first time in 1908 [...] because he wanted to see other countries, how many times he had returned to China, how he lived in Singapore, Manilla, Madagascar and Mauritius.]⁸¹

The author-narrator, who goes by Ti-Louis, recounts that his mother is a “ti cafrine malgacine-en-fout-pas-mal, lo corps bien fait et plein d'nerf” [“small Kaffir-Malagasy, not having any coldness in her eyes, in good shape and vivacious”] (*Louis Redona* 21). Readers learn that both Shao and Sabine are married in China but come to La Réunion

⁸⁰ Julia Kristeva defines the abject in the following formulation: “Il y a, dans l'abjection, une de ces violentes et obscures révoltes de l'être contre ce qui le menace et qui lui paraît venir d'un dedans ou d'un dehors exorbitant. [T]out en démarquant, [l'abjection] ne détache pas radicalement le sujet de ce qui le menace—au contraire, elle l'avoue en perpétuel danger” (9, 17).

⁸¹ Translations of Réunion Creole into English are my own.

where Shao establishes a shop that he later sells to a cousin from China. Shao's dream is to return to China where he would bring his family and acquire wealth; however, as Ti-Louis recounts, this wish does not become a reality. Shao affirms his wish to bring his son and wife to China to see his grandparents: "Ama amené Ti Nouis var mon papa ave mon mama. Ama amont' Ti Nouis langaz. Anou resté en Cine" ["I am going to bring Little Louis to see my father and mother. I will teach him to speak Chinese. We will stay in China"] (*Louis Redona* 22).

The author-narrator continues and suggests that due to his father's unfavorable financial situation, he and his family were ultimately unable to return to China. As a result, Shao remains in La Réunion and regards the host land as a miniature China. Shao's acceptance of his son's Afrasian *métissage* was joyous and welcoming:

Li laté condané a ète in l'exilé ziqu'à la fin d'sa vie. Té y res'a li rien qu'son band souvenir si son grand pays, dé-trois photo zauni et pi in grand zimaz roprésantant son ville Canton, la gramoune té y aime dépli ce zimaz pou rogarde tanzantan ec dé zié himide. [...] Pour Shao, la société cinois, té comme si li rotrouve a li en Cine dans son famille, ec son coutime, son manière viv'. [...] Lo vié Shao té y conné piquoça faire dovant lo pti batard-caf-maoulé. (*Louis Redona* 22-3)

[He was condemned to be an exile until the end of his life. No more than a mass of memories of his old country, several jaundiced photographs, and a large image representing his city of Canton was what remained. The old man enjoyed folding this image from time to time, reminiscing the country with humid eyes. [...] For Shao, the Chinese society [in Saint Denis] was for him the same thing as living in China with his family, with Chinese customs, ways of life. [...] The old Shao could not hold back any more happiness before his little *métis* Afrasian.]

Understanding this personal family context frames Honoré's epistemology of China, which is shaped from the warm relationship that he maintained with his Chinese father.

Perhaps Honoré's most understudied poetic work, *Ma Chine-nation* is comprised of various poems that, in addition to recounting his relationships with China, sheds lights on Honoré's emotions vis-à-vis his African roots and Malagasy slavery. Through his father, Honoré's relationship with China is articulated within *Ma Chine-nation* in which the autobiographical poetic "je" recounts his *retour aux sources* to China in 1989, as well as his vehement reactions against the Chinese and in particular against the nation itself. Written in both Réunion Creole and French—with Creole interspersed throughout the work—*Ma Chine-nation* foregrounds the themes of abjection and racialized animality to offer ways to reconsider *métissage* through familial and slave history. The poetic subject's ability to convey his thoughts about China and Africa by alluding to *marronnage* in La Réunion infuses a sociohistorical coloration to his poetry.

Ma Chine-nation, a title maintaining phonetic similarities to the French term *imagination*, is a work wherein Honoré's idyllic China—like his idealized Africa where he chooses not voyage—exists merely as an affective and epistemic construct, an *imaginaire*, problematized through a paradoxical process of preservation and abjection. The poetic descriptions of Africa—the land of his mother to which Honoré alludes toward the latter sections of his work—shifts the negative, abject descriptive focus from China to the inhumane treatments of Malagasy maroons in La Réunion. Yet, the poetic

subject vicariously identifies with a racialized maroon whom he images as Afrasian. In the poetic subject's eyes, this identification with a *métis* maroon who is in turn animalized via metaphors allows for cultural memory to be preserved and transmitted through the poetic medium and themes of *métissage*.

Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation* can be divided into two sections. The first concerns the poetic subject's abjection of his father's homeland after returning from a sojourn in China. The second section moves into an exploration of *marronnage* and the collective tribulations with which African slaves were faced during the French colonization of La Réunion. Perhaps most similar to Dany Dalmayrac's treatment of the question of French Empire, Honoré's works focus less on disclosing specific microdynamics between French, Asian, and "indigenous" populations, and more on the difficulties of assimilation and acculturation that Africans and Chinese experienced in La Réunion.⁸² The affective links with his Malagasy mother connect him to Africa and its past, and *Ma Chine-nation* pays homage to his father—an avatar of China—from which the poetic subject dissociates himself.

The opening lines of *Ma Chine-nation* immediately set the somber tone that will characterize the China that Honoré had visited. The poetic subject witnesses "des cadavres grotesques" with "[l]es poings et les pieds figés" that float down the nearby Yangzi river (*Ma Chine-nation* 3). The poetic subject accosts and questions China

⁸² This is particularly the case in Honoré's earlier collections of poems entitled *Lo Maloyèr blan* (1991) and *Louis Redona*. Keeping in mind that in La Réunion there was no indigenous group like the Kanaks of New Caledonia, I use "indigenous" loosely here to refer to the initial population of subalterns residing in La Réunion prior to the Dutch and French colonization of the island.

directly, using the *tu* form. The spectacle of watching cadavers floating through the river—dead bodies “que [la Chine] laiss[e] errer au gré des flots” establishes a visuality of death that characterizes the topography of China (*Ma Chine-nation* 3). The Asian land, described as an “onde impétueuse, souillée,” is furthermore covered with “[d]es étrons jonchant [la] terre” near which “[d]es bambins baign[ent] dans l’immonde / Bouillon avalant le fleuve” (*Ma Chine-nation* 4).

Put off by the grotesque surroundings, the poetic subject witnesses the children ingest polluted water and inhales a stench that requires him to cover his nostrils with sprigs of mint leaves. China and its abject qualities are immediately denounced:

Non ! Je ne fourrerai pas de brins de menthe
 Dans mes narines évasées
 Pour explorer tes villages d’un autre temps,
 Où croupit le peuple
 Oublié,
 Sans but ni horizon [...]
 Non ! Je ne pouvais me faire aveugle.
 J’ai détesté tes furoncles
 Et tes croûtes de boubou,
 Ta morve jaunâtre coulant en longs canaux

(*Ma Chine-nation* 5, 7)

The verb *croupir* and noun *furuncles* underscore the imageries of death and illness opening this work, and the Yangzi river that is supposed to provide life and nourishment to the Chinese village that the poetic subject visits is described as *morve jaunâtre*—an abject bodily excrement that visually connects with the *cadavres grotesques* on which they float.

Framing his surroundings in terms of deathly imagery, the poetic subject continues harboring the affect of repulsion when faced with the Chinese who come to greet him. In this regard, the poetic subject comments on the superficiality of the Chinese's greeting practices:

Comme j'ai méprisé d'ailleurs
Tes courbettes néo-venues
A l'apparition de l'homme aux devises
(*Ma Chine-nation* 9)

Critical of Chinese verisimilitudes, the poetic subject is further disgusted by the Chinese's treatments of animals. For instance, the poetic subject notes that he sees "la chair et la carapace / de [la] torture encore vivante / Que [la Chine] exhibai[t] sur [son] passage" (9). It is clear that the saturnine opening of *Ma Chine-nation* reflects the poetic subject's internal shock upon seeing his father's China drastically different from the image he had constructed in his epistemology.

The poetic subject's shock can perhaps best be observed in the shift in narrative tone that moves from description to accusation:

Quoi ? Est-ce que, pour te rajeunir,
Toi, la millénaire,
Tu te plongerais dans une vasque de cruauté
Infantile ?...
Et puis, calme, patiente, douce de voix,
Tu m'as demandé de comprendre...
Qu'il m'a fallu du temps pour accepter que plantent sur ma
tête les ombres de ceux qui, à chaque fois, meurent pour rien
car leur nombre, au demeurant considérable, ne peut, face à ton
énorme existence, que paraître ridicule... ! [...]
Que j'ai eu du mal ! Que j'ai eu mal !
Quelle frousse tu m'as foutue, ma belle!

What is noticeable not only in this excerpt but also throughout the entire work is that China is not given any voice or opportunity to respond to the poetic subject's accusations and sentiments of disbelief. The characteristic erasure of a Chinese voice, similar to what one would find in Thing-Léoh's and Sam-Long's works, parallels the silencing of subaltern voices encountered during the French colonial regime. In fact, using the French language to accuse China of its abject qualities asserts a position of dominance over his own Chinese roots. The grotesque, morbid, and abject presence of China that severs itself emotively and epistemically from the "ideal" China of his father subjects itself to the linguistic hegemony of the French language. Honoré's usage of French thus, through linguistic power structures, places China in an inferior position. The poetic subject occupies a position of dominance and privilege given that, from his perspective, he is from a more civilized and Westernized country.

As the poetic subject continues with his accusation, he regains a sense of calmness and realizes the importance that China has played in his identity formation. The author-narrator describes his sense of composure and gives thanks to China for his revitalized spirit:

Tu as murmuré au creux de mon cœur
Que si tu m'avais attendu si longtemps
Ce n'était pas pour me voir pleurer
Mais
Pour me dire la douceur des collines [...]
Oui ! Je te remercie [...] de m'avoir entraîné
A boire à ta source
Le lait de soja

Et la crème de patience...
Oui ! Je te remercie
De m'avoir tendu la branche
Qui sauve.

(*Ma Chine-nation* 13, 15-6)

The poetic subject's act of thanking China acknowledges the importance of his roots and the virtue of patience. The stark cultural differences between a progressively Occidentalizing La Réunion and his paternal Asian homeland create negative affects in the poetic subject, as evidenced by the initial emotions of disgust that frames *Ma Chine-nation*'s opening verses.

The poetic subject then receives a command from China insisting that he stay in China to implant his *métis* roots. His reaction is not only one of surprise, but also one of self-identification. Through his response to China, he is able to reassert his roots and identity as a *métis* with affective, physical connections with La Réunion and Africa:

Mais pourquoi m'as-tu murmuré aussi :
"Reste" ?
O ! Ma Chine Nation !
O, calculs multiples
Sur le boulier de bois de rose !
Je t'en prie !
Ne me retiens pas dans ton immensité !
Je reviendrai mais je ne resterai pas. Je suis aussi d'ailleurs et
rien ne m'empêchera de retrouver l'île du vieillard au sourire
calme. C'est à l'autre terre que j'appartiens tout en étant de tes
entrailles géantes.
O Cathay gâtée !
Nourris-moi de ton souffle
Et laisse-moi te raconter
L'Afrique !

(*Ma Chine-nation* 19)

The above selection is one of the few occasions in the work where China offers a response to the poetic subject's presence on the mainland. What is striking is that China's response is in French, which further underscores the erasure of Chinese linguistic visibility in Honoré's text.

The primacy of employing a French translation instead of allowing China to speak with its own voice symbolically subjects the cultural sign systems associated with the Chinese language to a French linguistic hegemony over which the poetic subject is in complete control. In effect, his retort "*O ! Ma Chine Nation !*" is particularly striking because the possessive adjective suggests a tone of endearment. Yet, the paranomasia that is created between *Ma Chine Nation* and the term *machination* cannot be ignored. The negative associations of *machination* offers a stark juxtaposition to the endearing tone created by the possessive pronoun *ma*, and the subsequent fixation on calculations underlines the seemingly calculating, plotting nature of the Chinese mainland of which the poetic subject is suspicious. He quickly affirms his identity as belonging elsewhere while accusing China as *gâtée* because the nation is holding him back ("Ne me retiens pas") from his Réunionnais homeland. The poetic subject concludes this first section of *Ma Chine-nation* by evoking Africa as his *locus amoenus* ("Et laisse-moi te raconter / L'Afrique!").

What this first poetic section demonstrates is the immediate abjection of the Asian land through multiple imageries of death and disgust. China is accordingly framed as an abject land and as such serves as a threatening presence to the poetic

subject's *métis* identity. As Lydie Moudileno notes, "L'écœurement devant l'abject [...] est une manière de se détourner d'un impropre organique qui sollicite et perturbe l'identité du sujet" (141). China seemingly tries to reclaim the poetic subject as part of a plotting, as witnessed through his usage of the verb *retenir* and the paranomasia *Ma Chine Nation/machination*. The poetic subject immediately calls out the selfish nature of China ("O Cathay gâtée !") and mentions his maternal land of Africa, a nation he later associates with life-giving qualities. From this context, the poetic tone moves from disgust to eventual acceptance, and noticeably, the phonetic similitude between *Ma Chine Nation/machination* extends to the phonetically similar word *imagination*. The abjection of a presumed machinating China engenders an identitary threat within the poetic subject, which compels him to distance himself from the Asian nation. He is thus able to stabilize his *métis* identity by claiming La Réunion and Africa as the territories that bring him affective, epistemic, and identitary stability.

Although the poetic subject does not disavow his Chinese roots, he does affirm that he would return to China to retrace the footsteps of his deceased father—his "vieillard au sourire calme" (*Ma Chine-nation* 19). As Wong-Hee-Kam notes, "[l]'œuvre de Daniel Honoré est riche de complexités sous-jacentes, celles d'un homme à la croisée de plusieurs mondes" (411). Although the abject descriptions of China are perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of this first section of *Ma Chine-nation*, the poetic subject does not completely sever ties with China. As an Afro-Chinese standing in for Honoré, he harbors the abject signifiers of China by virtue of his *métissage*. Accordingly, he resides in a paradoxical state of embracing the abjection because of his

affective and biological linkages to his beloved Chinese father. Honoré's epistemology of his *Cathay gâtée* is structured by his *métissage* and Chinese heritage: After all, having given the *parole* again to China who gains momentary control of the *je*, the Asian nation affirms to the poetic subject that the his ability to think, to act, and to be exists because of his Chinese roots: "Tu es, puisque je suis" (*Ma Chine-nation* 17).

The affective, epistemic, and ontological kinship bonds that the poetic subject exhibits vis-à-vis his Chinese heritage and the nation's history are strong, thus moving him away from severing his ties with his fatherland. He writes in this regard, "[m]es deux pieds étaient en terre ferme, / Prêts à supporter le poids du passé [de Chine]" (*Ma Chine-nation* 18). He thus succeeds in standing ground, but his accusatory tone toward China reaches his deceased father who speaks through China, literally giving a voice to China that is actually his own. Although he is ultimately unable to claim China as the "other" component comprising his Afro-Chinese *métissage*, he acknowledges that the important memory of his father appearing to him as "des traces de l'homme au sourire calme" stabilizes the insecurities from his multicultural, mixed-race identity. (*Ma Chine-nation* 35, 43)

IV. *Ma Chine-nation*: Animalizing *Métissage* and the Maroon-Animal

Ma Chine-nation shifts from the poetic subject's engagements with China and his Afrasian *métissage* to a gripping reflection of the brutality with which African slaves in La Réunion were treated by the French Empire. It is in this second section of *Ma Chine-nation* that the *je-narrateur* recreates an epistemology of *marronnage* in La

Réunion through the imagery of racialized animality. The visuality of bodies and animals were associated in the first section with China and the grotesque presentation of decaying corpses floating down the Yangzi River coupled with depictions of animal cruelty. The second section builds on these descriptions of China but moves to articulating the moment in La Réunion's history where the French Empire subjected African laborers to slavery. As I will show, the poetic subject maps his Afrasian *métissage* onto animalized bodies of African maroons—bodies that become doubly-racialized as both African and Chinese.

As Bénédicte Boisseron has noted, descriptions of animality—particularly in the form of dog and humans-as-dogs—are noticeable within Francophone Caribbean slave narratives:

dogs [...] hol[d] the stigma of a long captivity and carr[y] with them the air of a ghastly remnant from the bloody past. [...] The Creole dog is the bearer of unbearably violent affects. [...] Literary dogs come to represent the specter of an indigested past deeply buried in the Antillean collective consciousness. The historical line of escape that the dog shared with the maroon has been translated into a metaphorical canine line of escape. [...] This transformation transforms a traumatic past and ineffable truth into what sounds like a trivial and insignificant reality easier to tell.
(207, 209)

The metaphorical interchange between canine and human (or the maroon in Boisseron's analysis) offers an important insight into how human bodies can undergo not only animalizations but also racialized animalizations.⁸³ Animality becomes in essence a

⁸³ A maroon refers to a fugitive slave (typically from Africa or one of African-descent) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

receptacle for cultural memory, trauma, and a “specter” of a past marked by violent affects.

The becoming-animal dynamic found in Antillean literature to which Boisseron alludes finds its parallel in the Indo-Oceanic literary context. The poetic subject of *Ma Chine-nation* places an added layer of complexity to the becoming-animal metaphorical interchange between canine and maroon by reconfiguring the fleeing animal-maroon as both African and Chinese. This sinicization of the African maroon reflects the poetic subject’s Afrasian *métissage*, and by re-racializing the maroon-animal as Afrasian, the poetic subject epistemically and affectively aligns his subjectivity and agency with the persecuted maroons. In so doing, as an attempt to exhibit ontological stability, the poetic subject shares in similar forms of alterity and vulnerability as the maroon-animals. This shared vulnerability and negative affect with the maroon-animals takes shape because his *métissage*—the source of his insecurities—places him in an unstable, peripheral position as *entre-deux*.

The *métis*-racialization and animalization of the poetic subject who regards himself as a maroon and animal, on the one hand, and both African and Chinese, on the other, can be seen across several poems. In “Marron d’amour,” the poetic subject transports himself into the body of a maroon in La Réunion and offers a definition of *marronnage*: “Marron : Se dit, dans les colonies, des animaux domestiques échappés des habitations. Par extension : Un noir marron” (*Ma Chine-nation* 49). This definition blurs the status between human and animal whereby both entities’ subjectivities are inseparable from the colony-bound lifestyle and their active engagement with fleeing.

The poetic subject immediately regards himself as a maroon and animal and thus undergoes an auto-animalization:

Ô jeu des couleurs !
ô, jeu de mots !
Maux de Je !
Je, animal échappé,
Fuis,
Pour clamer
Mon refus. [...]
Ma dépouille se rira
Du fusil de Mussard. [...]
Je, animal échappé,
Fuis,
Pour retourner
La vie...
En trouant la rosée
Qui se fera amère pour le soleil [...]
Je, animal échappé, fuis, pour répondre à l'appel
d'amour de la sœur
d'Héva ! (51-3)

The juxtaposition and spatial proximity between *maux* and *je*, as well as the paranomasia between *mot* and *maux*, point to an additional conflation between his identity; writing; and affective, physical miseries. The auto-animalization of the poetic subject who flees toward liberty (“Je, animal échappé, / Fuis, / Pour retourner / La vie”) sees writing as a painful process, as the paranomasia between *mot* and *maux* underlines his pain via writing.

The poetic subject thus imagines carrying the fetters of slavery as both an animal and sub-human who attempts to flee toward the legendary female *marronne*, Héva. Often associated as an allegory of the “original” Réunionnais woman, Héva is a

legendary construction who is known to have fled slavery; she ultimately arrives at an idyllic land, a Garden of Eden of sorts, far from the violence of the colonies.⁸⁴ The evocation of Françoise de Mussard, a French *chasseur d'esclave* or slave hunter notorious among *marrons* to have located escaping slaves, is of particular import. The juxtaposition of the escaping poetic subject who imagines himself as a maroon-animal and the visuality of Mussard holding a pistol underscores the inhumane treatment and brutality to which maroons were subjected. Perhaps the most disconcerting image is that of Héva who is only a legendary being. The *marrons* who flee with the hopes of joining in the beauty and freedom associated with Héva nevertheless face the reality of death, which is underscored by the noun “dépouille.” Mussard’s infamous “fusil” takes the life away from each hiding slave, which leaves behind trails of dead bodies.

What is striking about the poetic subject’s evocation of corpses is that such an abject visuality had appeared earlier in the previous section where he describes watching cadavers floating down the Yangzi River. The parallel visuality of lifeless Chinese bodies in the previous section, when analyzed in context with the presentation of dead African maroon bodies, suggests that the poetic subject racializes dead bodies as Chinese and African. The *métis* poetic subject who sees lifeless Chinese and African bodies affirms his mixed-raceness before his necro-racialization of Chinese and African corpses: “Je suis le métis / Je suis le mélangé” (*Ma Chine-nation* 28). As a cultural bridge (and a bridge between life and death), he symbolically positions himself between

⁸⁴ August Vinson offers perhaps the most noteworthy presentation of the figure Héva in his work *Salazie ou Le Piton d’Anchaing* (1888).

Chinese and African histories within his poem by virtue of his Sino-African *métissage*. Because he regards himself as a maroon-animal, he maps his Sino-African *métissage* onto the maroon-animal, thereby racializing the maroon-animal assemblage as Sino-African. Furthermore, the poetic subject's identification with a deceased *métis* maroon corpse ("ma dépouille"), which is animalized ("je, animal échappé"), suggests that the *je* embodies a co-presence of life and death—a paradoxical duality making the *métis* maroon-animal a transcendental figure.

Following this logic, I suggest that the poetic subject epistemically reconstructs a maroon-animal as a *métis* to share in same traumas that he experiences as a *métis* since he fixates on his own self-objectivisation: "Toute ma tête hurle : Bâtard !" (28). This Afrasian racialization of an already animalized maroon figure also operates on the level of skin color. Entitling another poem "Zhu," which incidentally means "red" in Chinese and is also the poetic subject's patronymic, the poetic subject evokes, "Je suis le rouge / Je suis couleur de cinabre / Je suis le brun" (27-8). The poetic subject reveals his patronymic "Zhu," which can be phonetically interchanged to sound as if he is stating that he is literally "red." The repetition of "Je suis" is followed by the colors red and brown, as well as the mentioning of cinnabar—a red-colored material used in traditional Chinese lacquerware. These colorations evoke the stereotypes of skin color of the Chinese and Africans in a colonized context stamped onto his own body.

By sharing the same physical features as the maroons subjected to the oppression of the French Empire, the *métis* poetic subject is able to exhibit an affective bond with epistemically imagined Afrasian maroons, whether deceased or alive. In

essence, the poetic subject becomes not only a maroon through his speech-act when he affirms “Je marronne” but also a racialized animal as he suggests, “Ne serais-je qu’un animal?” (55). The animalization of a *métis* subject and the *métissage* of an animal—which opens a new consideration into inter-species relations—revolve around the central figure of the colonial maroon who is paradoxically both dead and alive. The trans-human relations between *métis*, animal, and maroon fuse racial, ethnic, and colonial signifiers that articulate a more nuanced understanding of how *métissage* can be stamped onto non-*métis* people for purposes of ontological stability.

The *métis* human-animal figure that the poem describes can be thought of as, to use Donna Haraway’s formulation, an animal-human “metaplasm” that “mean[s] the remodeling of [animal] and human flesh, remolding the codes of life, in the history of companion-species relating” (20). The parallel blending of human and animal, on the one hand, and African and Asian, on the other, also mobilizes the *métis* maroon-animal as a carrier of the histories of oppression that both races faced under the French Empire. African and Asian races embodied in the maroon-animal can be furthermore paralleled to a human-animal bonding whereby this bonding could suggest power structures entailing a clear human-over-animal relationship *or* a mutually beneficial relationship (i.e., traditionally between humans and canines).

If readers were to take into consideration the mutually beneficial, deterritorializing power dynamics between animal/human and African/Asian, then they could see that the metaplastic human-animal figure representing the Afrasian maroon has the potential to undercut the connotations of colonial negativity associated with the

maroon. In this regard, *métissage* becomes a powerful metaplasma that not only collapses the metaphorical boundaries between human and animal, but also fuses the histories of two separate races, ethnicities, and cultures as a counteractive decolonial force that together upends any oppressive signification attributed to *métissage* used in the colonial context. The poetic subject's affective and epistemological kinship bonds created with the metaplastic figure allows him to ascribe a power onto the *métis*-animal subject to bite back at an “animal échappé [qui] fui[t] pour clamer [s]on refus” (53).

In *Ma Chine-nation*, the representation of Afrasian *métissage* accompanies the poetic subject's inability to come to terms neither with his father's East Asian homeland nor the colonial history of *marronnage* in La Réunion that directly involved his maternal ancestors. The poetic subject, unable to come to identify himself fully with Chinese and African cultures since this identification is only to be stymied by violence, has no further choice other than to accept his *métissage* while somehow searching for a “joie de vivre” that is worth living (72).

V. Conclusion: The Mascarene Islands and Afrasian *Métissages*

This chapter has explored the histories of the Mascarene Islands in relation to the Francophone East Asian literary productions from this region. Specifically, my analysis focused on Honoré's *Ma Chine-nation*, which much like Ook Chung's and Jimmy Ly's works, foregrounds the theme of non-belonging with the East Asian

homeland. When read in light of the post- and decolonial histories of African and Asian laborers and slaves, *Ma Chine-nation* serves as a poetic text underscoring the linguistic, cultural, sociohistorical *métissages* that are inseparable from Honoré's own Afrasian familial heritage. The Sino-African *métis* presence in *Ma Chine-nation* presents readers with a complex reconfiguration of *métissage* as a component of animalization. This animalization is itself a metaphor for the maroon subjected to the fetters of French colonialism in La Réunion. The ambiguity surrounding the species of animal(s) to which the poetic subject's *métis* body is compared places import on the mixed-racial reconfiguration of the maroon figure. The affective and epistemic kinship bonds that the poetic subject establishes trans-temporally with maroons of the past allows for what Derrida has figuratively called a "crossing of borders between man and animal" (*The Animal* 372).

What *Ma Chine-nation* offers readers is a new way to reconceptualize subjectivity and agency within the French colonial context through animalizing *métissage*, which seeks less to advance a metaphor of dehumanized figures of oppression than a decolonial force counteracting signifiers of colonial domination. The fusion of African and Asian colonial histories at the hands of the French Empire coalesce via the metaplastic, undead maroon. The affective projections that the poetic subject maps onto this metaplastic assemblage (which is in itself purely epistemological by nature) allows the poetic subject to achieve forms of ontological stability and security to counteract his sentiments of non-belonging, alterity, and

liminality between two cultures. These two cultures—African and Chinese—are far from being mutually exclusive in the French colonial context.

The cultural nuances that Honoré offers within *Ma Chine-nation* pushes my analysis to an *ouverture* to consider emerging Afrasian *métissages* gaining ground in the cultural spheres of the Indian Ocean. New studies uncovering Afrasian relations through text and in particular music and dances—such as the Réunionnais Afro-Chinese *métis* musician Ti’Fock known for his jazz-rock *maloya* mixes—could help illuminate Afrasian relations through differing poetic and aesthetic mediums, including music and dance. In a geographic location whose cultural production is predicated on the cross-braiding of differing contact zones, it is the poetry, prose, linguistics, and multisited transhistoricities found in the Francophone works of La Réunion and Mauritius that suggest the *métis* essences of the Indian Ocean.

Conclusion

A race without knowledge of its history is like a tree without roots.

— Charles Seifert (5)

*Je ne suis donc ni japonais ni français.
Je ne cesse finalement de me rendre étranger
à moi-même dans les deux langues, en allant et en
revenant de l'une à l'autre, pour
me sentir toujours décalé,
hors de place.*

— Akira Mizubayashi (267-8)

The various Francophone East Asian literatures that I assessed in this dissertation presented different representations and nuances of *métissage*. These differentiations led me to conclude that despite the proliferation of definitions and iterations of *métissage*—from those contributed by Glissant to those by Lionnet—a more trans-geographic articulation of the term can be proposed without recourse to Euro-centric frameworks. By regarding trans-oceanic relations between the DROM-COM as emotive and epistemic kinship networks, I point toward a theoretical reconfiguration of kinship that moves away from descriptions of “belonging” via biogenetic substances (i.e., blood) or metaphorical outlines (i.e., family trees).

This reappraisal of kinship as a *métissage* of emotive/affective and epistemic channels of belonging additionally led me to consider the theoretical role that affectivity plays in Mixed-Race and Postcolonial Studies. If multi-raciality is itself a “mixed” phenomenon and a symbol of resistance for *métis* authors—racially, ethnically, physically, ideologically, and culturally—what role does affectivity have in upending (post)colonial paradigms? Do the affective links that migrants maintain with their non-colonized motherland, prompted by foodways and/or the internalizations of micro-traumas like the narrators of *Kimchi* and *Bonbon sœur*, “de-link” themselves from the matrix of power binding them to their postcolonial host territory? As all the works that this dissertation explored demonstrate to differing degrees, the fixation on the return home to the East Asian motherland moves the narrative focus from postcolonial traumas to a personalized, nostalgic, and affective relationship between the migrant’s body and an East Asian geo-cultural space.

In this regard, Ook Chung uses the Korean dish *kimchi* and Japan Towns to comment on the metaphorical consumption of the roots and identity comprising his multiethnic Koreo-Japanese *métissage*. Similarly to Chung’s embedding of foodways in his narration, Jimmy Ly articulates how Sino-Tahitian desserts serve as alimentary artifacts to a dying Hakka Chinese culture in Tahiti. I argued that the incorporation of foodways in Chung’s and Ly’s novels leads readers to establish connections between literary representation of food and the internalizable roots of identity. The association of certain organic edibles with origins and homelands was

an important consideration made particularly because food has the ability to be materially and physically infused into diasporic bodies. I have suggested that the affective and epistemic engagements that Chung and Ly maintain with foodways are representative of the kinship bonds that they establish with their Asian or Asian Pacific homelands.

Nippo-Kanak *métis* author Dany Dalmayrac uses Japan as his focal point to consider Japanese migration to New Caledonia and the Japanese's subsequent incarceration in Australia. The Japanese culture left behind to the mixed-race Japanese New Caledonian children, as Dalmayrac's novel makes clear, harbors a complex syncretism structured by French colonialism in the South Pacific. In the Indian Ocean context, Daniel Honoré evokes his father's homeland of China before associating his Sino-African *métissage* with marronage and animalization. Both Dalmayrac and Honoré's poetic subject, similarly to Chung and Ly, affectively identify with their East Asian ancestral lands paradoxically through the sentiments of loss and alterity.

Analyzing the works of those *métis* authors analyzed in this dissertation, one could ascertain the role that "affectivity" plays within the domain of Francophone Asian Pacific literature. Such a consideration guided me not only to reflect on the role that "affect" plays in Asian American Studies, but also to consider the striking similarities between Asian American Studies and Francophone Asian Pacific Studies. It remains to be seen whether the *retour aux sources* narration that notably

defines Francophone Asian Pacific literature is to be seen as extensively in Asian American literature. A study exploring kinship and hegemonic structures in Asian American literary and filmic production would be furthermore generative, given the number of Asian American *métis(se)* writers like Winnifred Eaton and Huan Hsu who critique Asian subalternity and mixed-raceness.

In addition to the above, future studies are necessary to compare Francophone and Anglophone Asian literatures and histories, in particular as they both pertain to indigenous populations and their interactions with East Asian immigrants during the post-Second World War era. A comparison between New Caledonian Kanaks and North American natives and their relations with East Asian communities would lead to a critically unexplored area of inquiry. Such a study could allow scholars to reassess the extent to which delocalized East Asian communities in North America communicated with native groups to undercut colonial power structures similar to what was done in the Mascarene Islands between Chinese and African laborers in the mid-nineteenth century. Another equally generative comparatist project centering on Japanese assimilation in post-war New Caledonia and in the United States could allow readers to question the role that second generation and/or biracial Japanese children played in preserving and reconfiguring Japanese culture abroad. Such a project would expand David Pomfret's recent work in *Mixed Race Youth Studies* to consider Asian-Caucasian biraciality in the South Pacific and North American contexts.

This dissertation concluded by underlining the extent to which *métissage* in its affective and epistemic kinships could be engaged to study East Asia alongside South Asian and Indo-Oceanic Francophone Studies. Such an analysis would permit readers to open new critical dialogues and exchanges, particularly as the ever-small Francophone Asian *métis* populations in these regions are continually faced with ethnocide. The importance of keeping “alive” the voices of the doubly and triply marginalized *métis* East Asian populace in these areas through exploring their literatures and (hi)stories sheds a revealing light onto these neglected subjects. Despite decolonial measures to unfetter such voices from a Metro-centric presence, the Francophone East Asiatic *métis* populace is faced with a “fiction of reconciliation”—in the words of Lisa Lowe—that “disrupt the myth of [...] identity by revealing its gaps and fissures” (9). As I have suggested, examining cultural aporias and representations of alterity and memory can serve as starting points to link the Francophone East Asiatic *métis* body to larger issues within comparative global humanities, most specifically to the acts of resistance, violence, and survival.

Works Cited

- Abram, Simone, et al. "The Free Movement of People around the World Would Be Utopian: IUAES World Congress 2013: Evolving Humanity, Emerging Worlds, 5–10 August 2013." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 24.2 (2016): 1-33.
- Adachi, Nobuko. "Immigration to the Colonies: Korea, Manchuria, and Sakhalin." *Japan at War: An Encyclopedia*. Ed. Louis G. Perez. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013. 82.
- Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2006.
- Angleviel, Frédéric. "De l'engagement comme « esclavage volontaire »: Le cas des Océaniens, Kanaks et Asiatiques en Nouvelle-Calédonie." *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 110 (2000): 65-81.
- . *La Nouvelle-Calédonie: Terre de métissages*. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2004.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30.1 (1998): 3-24.
- Ashcroft, Bill and Griffiths Gareth et al. *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Barthes, Roland. "Pour une psycho-sociologie de l'alimentation contemporaine." *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 16.5 (1961): 977-86.
- . *La Chambre claire: Note sur la photographie*. Paris: Éditions de l'Étoile, Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1980.
- Bansal, Sunita P. *Encyclopaedia of India*. New Delhi: Smriti Books, 2005.
- Barthes, Roland. *L'empire des signes*. Geneva and Paris: Skira-Flammarion, 1970.
- Ben Jelloun, Tahar. "La cave de ma mémoire, le toit de ma maison sont des mots français." *Pour une littérature-monde*. Ed. Michel Le Bris and Jean Rouaud. Paris: Gallimard, 2007. 113-24.

- Bencivengo, Yann. "L'Immigration japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Une illustration de l'affirmation du Japon dans le Pacifique." *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 135 (2012): 215-27.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*." *The Translation Studies Reader*. 1923. Vol. 2. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2008. 75-85.
- Benoist, Jean. *Un développement ambigu: Structures et développement de la société réunionnaise*. Saint-Denis: Fondation pour la Recherche et le Développement de l'Océan Indien. 1983.
- , "Le Métissage: Biologie d'un fait social, sociologie d'un fait biologique." *Métissages. Linguistique et anthropologie*. Eds. Jean-Luc Alber and Claudine Bavoux et al. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992. 13-22.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha." *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Ed. Jonathan Rutherford. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990. 206-21.
- , *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- , *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Blum-Reid, Sylvie. *East-West Encounters: Franco-Asian Cinema and Literature*. London and New York: Wallflower P, 2003.
- Boisseron, Bénédicte. "A Creole Line of Escape: A Story of Becoming-Dog." *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 10.2 (2006): 205-16.
- Boldy, Steven. *The Novels of Julio Cortázar*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980.
- Bonniol, Jean-Luc. *Paradoxes du métissage*. Paris: CTHS, 2001.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. London: Routledge, 1979.
- Brocheux Pierre and Daniel Hémary. "The Colonial Moment: The Making of French Indochina, 1858-1897." *Indochina: An Ambiguous Colonization*, Berkeley: U of California P, 2009. 15-49.
- Cao, Shuji. *Zhongguo Renkou Shi*. Vol. 5. Shanghai: Fudan Daxue Chubanshe, 2001.
- Casanova, Pascal. *The World Republic of Letters*. Trans. M.B. DeBevoise. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

- Chang, Sen-Dou. "The Distribution and Occupations of Overseas Chinese." *Geographical Review* 58.1 (1968): 89-107.
- Chung, Ook. *Kimchi*. Paris: Le Serpent à plumes, 2001.
- Connell, John. *New Caledonia or Kanaky? The Political History of a French Colony*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, 1987.
- Cooper, Nicola. *France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Coppenrath, Gérald. *Les Chinois de Tahiti: De l'aversion à l'assimilation (1865-1966)*. Paris: Musée de l'homme, 1967.
- Corcoran, Patrick. *The Cambridge Introduction to Francophone Literature*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2007.
- Cox, Stéphanie, and Jung-Hwa Rosa Hong. "Les enfants de Pitsémine: Le texte comme patrie chez Ook Chung et chez Ying Chen." *Québec Studies* n.v. (2012): 37-52.
- Crocombe, Ronald. *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West*. Suva, Fiji: IPS, U of the South Pacific, 2007.
- Cvetkovich, Ann. *Depression: A Public Feeling*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2012.
- Dali, Henri. *Guerre du Pacifique 1941-1945: Nouvelle-Calédonie porte-avions Américain dans les mers du sud*. Ed. Henri Daly. Nouméa: Imprimeries Réunies de Nouméa, 2002.
- Dallet, Jean-Marie. *Histoire et portrait de la communauté chinoise de Tahiti*. Papeete: Christian Gleizal, 1979.
- Dalmayrac, Dany. *Les sentiers de l'espoir: Kanak et Nippo-Kanak*. Nouméa: Écume du Pacifique, 2003.
- , "La densité de l'histoire." *Mwà Vée: Revue culturelle kanak* 44 (2004): 10-13.
- , "Les « Nippo-Kanak » en Nouvelle-Calédonie." *FEU NOS PÈRES*. Ed. Mutsumi Tsuda. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2006. 49-53.
- , "Les Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Intervention de Dany Dalmayrac." JICA Conference. Yokohama, Japan, 2007.
- , *La petite bicyclette, et autres nouvelles japonaises*. Nouméa, New Caledonia: Écume du Pacifique, 2008.
- , Personal communication. 14 July 2016.

- Daly, Numa. "Une page peu connue de l'histoire calédonienne: L'aventure extraordinaire de Watiamama, Roi des Iles Loyalty." *Bulletin: Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* 64 (1985): 17-33.
- Decraene, Philippe. "L'opinion française et la cession des Comptoirs." *Trois siècles de présence française en Inde (Actes du Colloque du 21 septembre 1994 organisé au Sénat (Salle Médicis) par L'Association 'Les Comptoirs de l'Inde' en association avec le Centre des Hautes Études sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes (CHEAM))*. Ed. Philippe Decraene. Paris: CHEAM, 1994. 177-86.
- DeLoughrey, Elizabeth. *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2007.
- De La Barre de Nanteuil, Auguste. *Législation de l'île de la Réunion: Répertoire raisonné des lois, ordonnances royales, ordonnances locales, décrets coloniaux, décrets impériaux, règlements et arrêtés d'un intérêt général en vigueur dans cette colonie*. Vol. 5. Paris: E. Donnau, 1862.
- De Nettancourt, Gabrielle. "Le peuplement néerlandais à l'île Maurice (1598-1710)." *Mouvements de populations dans l'Océan Indien*. Paris: Champion, 1980. 219-32.
- Denton, Chad. "Tokyo Rosalie? A Franco-Japanese Envoy and Entrepreneur in the South Pacific, 1890–1959." *French Historical Studies* 37.4 (2014): 631-61.
- De Rochebrune, Marie-Laure. *La Chine à Versailles: Art et diplomatie au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2014.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Des Tours de Babel." *Difference in Translation*. Trans. Joseph F. Graham, Cornell UP: 1985, 165-207.
- , "The Animal that Therefore I Am (More to Follow)." Trans. David Wills. *Critical Inquiry* 28.2 (2002): 369-414.
- Dervieux, Christophe. Personal communication. 8 August 2016.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Asia Pacific Studies in an Age of Global Modernity." *Remaking Area Studies: Teaching and Learning Across Asia and the Pacific*. Ed. Terence Wesley-Smith, Jon D. Goss. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2010. 5-23.
- Do, Tess. "Nourriture ou pourriture: Une exploration de l'impact post-colonial du patrimoine français parmi les immigrants vietnamiens dans le romans de Linda Lê." *Les vivres et le vivre en Océanie: Food and Lifestyles in Oceania*. Ed. Sonia. Lacabanne. Nouméa: U de la Nouvelle-Calédonie & C.O.R.A.I.L., 2003. 141-51.
- Dodson, Michael and Brian A. Hatcher. *Transcolonial Modernities in South Asia*. Ed. Michael Dodson and Brian A. Hatcher. London: Routledge, 2012.

- Douglas, Mary. "Deciphering a Meal." *DÆDALUS: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 101 (1972): 61-81.
- Dunwoodie, Peter, "Assimilation, Cultural Identity, and Permissible Deviance in Francophone Algerian Writing of the Interwar Years." *Algeria & France, 1800-2000: Identity, Memory, Nostalgia*. Ed. Patricia Loroin. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 2006. 63-83.
- Duruz, Jean. "From Malacca to Adelaide." *Food and Foodways in Asia: Resource, Tradition, and Cooking*. Ed. Sidney C.H. Cheung and Tan Chee-Beng. New York: Routledge, 2007. 183-200.
- Dutton, Jacqueline. "Francophonie and Universality: The Ideological Challenges of *littérature-monde*." *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 12.2-3 (2009): 425-38.
- Eagleton, Terry. "Nationalism: Irony and Commitment." *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*. Ed. Terry Eagleton, Edward Said, and Fredric Jameson. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1990.
- Erikson, Thomas H. "Creolization in Anthropological Theory and in Mauritius." *Creolization, History, Ethnography, Theory*. Ed. Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast P. 153-77.
- Eto, Anaïs. Personal communication. 16 July 2016.
- Faessel, Sonia. "Les sentiers de l'espoir." *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes* 20 November 2004: n.p.
- Faivre, Antoine. *Lettres des missions du Japon; ou, Supplément aux Lettres de saint François-Xavier*. Lyon and Paris: Rusand, 1829.
- Fanon, Frantz. *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: Maspéro, 1961.
- Fer, Yannick. "The Growth of Pentecostalism in French Polynesia: A Hakka History. Migration, Cultural Identity and Christianity." *China Perspectives* 57. (2005) <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/1118>. 15 February 2013.
- Ferrier, Michaël. "La tentation du Japon chez les écrivains français." *La tentation de la France, la tentation du Japon*. Paris: Philippe Picquier, 2003. 33-55.
- Filliot, Jean-Michel. *La traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au 18e siècle*. Paris: ORSTOM, 1974.
- Findley, Lisa. *Building Change: Architecture, Politics, and Cultural Agency*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Formis, Sophie. "La saga Nakamura." *Dimanche Matin* 8 August 1999: 10-13.

- Foucault, Michel. *History of Sexuality*. 3 Vol. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1988-1990.
- Fresnosa-Flot, Asuncion. "Labor Migration and Minority Group Empowerment: The Nikkeijin in Davao and their Association." *Asian Studies Journal* 44.1 (2008): 66-102.
- Gerbeau, Hubert. "Les esclaves asiatiques des Mascareignes au XIXe siècle: Enquêtes et hypothèses." *Annuaire des pays de l'océan Indien* 7 (1980): 169-99.
- Ghosh, Durba. *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Gills, John. *Commemorations: The Politics of a National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994.
- Giovanangeli, Angela, and Julie Robert. "Edible Alterities: Perspectives from La Francophonie." *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 10.2 (2013): 1-3.
- Glissant, Édouard. *Le discours antillais*. Paris: Seuil, 1981.
- . *Les grands chaos*. Paris: Gallimard, 1993.
- . *Introduction à une poétique du divers*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.
- . "Métissage et créolisation: Discours sur le métissage." *Identités métisses: En quête d'Ariel*. Ed. Sylvie Kandé. Paris: Harmattan, 1999. 47-53.
- Gonsález-Ruibal, Alfredo. *Reclaiming Archaeology: Beyond the Tropes of Modernity*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Gopinath, Gayatri. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.
- Gotz, B.D. *Pito Mā*, Papeete: Au vent des îles, 2005.
- Gungwu, Wang. "Les Chinois et les pays situés de l'autre côté de l'océan Indien." *Histoire générale de l'Afrique: Relations historiques à travers l'océan Indien*. Paris: l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture, 1980. 69-75.
- Hak Kyung Cha, Theresa. *DICTEE*. New York: Tanem, 1982.
- Haraway, Donna. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm P, 2003.

- Harris, Judith. *Signifying Pain: Constructing and Healing the Self through Writing*. Albany: SU of New York P, 2003.
- Hayes, Jarrod. "Eatin' Tail, Suckin' Head: Talking about Food in French America." French Twist: Talking Queer in French. *Tenth Conference on Lavender Languages and Linguistics*. American University. 15 February 2003. Washington, D.C.
- Hirsch, Alan. "Nostalgia: A Neuropsychiatric Understanding." *NA - Advances in Consumer Research*. Vol. 19. Ed. John F. Sherry and Brian Sternthal. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 1992. 390-95.
- Hirsch, Marianne. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia UP, 2012.
- Honoré, Daniel. *Louis Rédon*. Saint-Denis: Les Chemins de la Liberté, 1980.
- , *Cemin Bracanot*. Saint-Leu: UDIR, 1984.
- , *Lo Maloyèr blan*. Saint-Denis: UDIR, 1991.
- , *Ma Chine-nation*. Saint-Denis: ADER, 1994.
- , *Légendes chinoises: La sine bon péi*. Trans. Jean-François Samlong. Saint-Denis: UDIR, 2000.
- Hout, Syrine. *Post-War Anglophone Lebanese Fiction: Home Matters in the Diaspora*. Edinburgh: U of Edinburgh P, 2012.
- Howell, Jennifer. "Folklore and Foodways: Viet Kieu Postmemory." *Reorienting Cultural Flows: Engagements Between France and East/Southeast Asia*. Florida State University, 26 February, 2015. Tallahassee, FL.
- Huntley, E.D. *Maxine Hong Kingston: A Critical Companion*. Westport: Greenwood P, 2001.
- Joubert, Jean-Louis. *Littératures francophones d'Asie et du Pacifique*. Paris: Nathan, 1997.
- Kawakami, Akane. *Travellers' Visions: French Literary Encounters with Japan, 1881-2004*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2005.
- Keating, AnaLouise. "Re-envisioning Coyolxauhqui, Decolonizing Reality: Anzaldúa's Twenty-First-Century Imperative." *Light in the Dark/Luz en lo oscuro: Rewriting Identity, Spirituality, Reality*. Ed. Gloria E. Anzaldúa and Analouise Keating. Durham: Duke UP, 2015. ix-8
- Khatibi, Abdelkebir. *Figures de l'étranger dans la littérature française*. Paris: Denoël, 1987.

- Kim-Bernard, Kyeongmi. "La quête identitaire d'Ook Chung: Analyse thématique de *La Trilogie coréenne*." *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 16.3 (2013): 353-72.
- Kinnvall, Catarina. "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security." *Political Psychology* 25.5 (2004): 741-67.
- Kobayashi, Tadao. ニューカレドニア島の日本人: 契約移民の歴史. Tokyo: Karucha Shuppansha, 1977.
- . *Les Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie: H des émigrés sous contrat*. Trans. Keiko Raulet. Nouméa: Société d'études historiques de la Nouvelle Calédonie, 1992.
- Kono, Rose. Personal communication. 16 July 2016.
- Koshiro, Yukiko. *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. New York: Columbia UP, 1999.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Pouvoirs de l'horreur: Essai sur l'abjection*. Paris: Seuil, 1980.
- . *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. 1980. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.
- Kuhnlein, H. and Receveur O. "Dietary Change and Traditional Food Systems of Indigenous Peoples." *Annual Review of Nutrition* 16 (1996): 417-42.
- Kurtovitch, Ismet. *Les Comédies broussardes*. Nouméa: Madrépores, 2013.
- . Personal communication. 8 August 2016.
- Kutsuki, Ryo. "Les immigrés en Nouvelle-Calédonie dans l'histoire du Japon." *FEU NOS PÈRES*. Ed. Mutsumi Tsuda. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2006. 16-19.
- Labourdette, Jean-Paul and Dominique Auzias. *Le Petit Futé Réunion 2013*. Paris: Groupe Corlet, 2012.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis*. Ed. Jacques-Alain Miller. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1981.
- Lafortune, Fred E. "Daniel Honoré, 5 Questions pour Île En île." 11 December 2009. <http://ile-en-ile.org/daniel-honore-5-questions-pour-ile-en-ile/>. 24 May 2016.
- Lartin, Urbain. *Relations historiques et culturelles entre la France et l'Inde, XVIIe-XXe siècles*. Vol. 2. Saint-Clotilde: ADR, 1987.

- Le Bris, Michel. "Pour une 'littérature-monde' en français." *Le Monde* 15 March 2007.
http://www.lemonde.fr/livres/article/2007/03/15/des-ecrivains-plaident-pour-un-roman-en-francais-ouvert-sur-le-monde_883572_3260.html. 5 April 2014.
- Leydier, Gilles. *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.
- Lionnet, Françoise. *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, Self-Portraiture*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.
- . "Logiques métisses: Cultural Appropriation and Postcolonial Representation." *Postcolonial Representations: Women, Literature, Identity*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995. 1- 21.
- Lionnet, Françoise, and Shu-mei Shuh. *Minor Transnationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2005.
- Logan, Leanne. *New Caledonia*. Victoria: Lonely Planet, 2001.
- Lombard, Denys. *Le carrefour javanais: Essai d'histoire globale*. Paris: L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1990.
- Lougnon, Albert. *Recueil de documents et travaux inédits pour servir à l'histoire de La Réunion*. Vol. 2. Saint-Denis: Archives départementales de La Réunion, 1957.
- Loti, Pierre. *Un pèlerin d'Angor*. Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1912 (1908).
- Luckhurst, Roger. "Breaking the Pact: Contemporary Autobiographical Diversions." *A History of English Autobiography*. Ed. Adam Smyth. New York: Cambridge UP, 2016. 402-16.
- Lupton, Deborah. *Food, the Body and the Self*. London: Sage, 1996.
- Lutz, Catherine. "Empire is in the Details." *American Ethnologist* 33.4 (2006): 593-611.
- Ly, Jimmy. *Bonbon soeurette et pai coco*. Papeete: J.M. Ly, 1997.
- . *Hakka en Polynésie*. Papeete, Tahiti: Polytram, 1999.
- . *Adieu l'étang aux chevrettes*. Papeete: J.M. Ly, 2003.
- . "The Fate of the Hakka." 2003.
<http://www.ihakka.net/hakka2003/Big5/word/02.doc>. 15 February 2013.
- . "The Hakka in Tahiti." *Global Hakka Studies* (全球客家研究) 1 (2013): 215-34.

- Ly-Tio-Fane, Huguette. *La diaspora chinoise dans l'océan Indien occidental*. Aix-en-Provence: GRECO-Océan Indien, 1981.
- Macklem, Timothy. *Beyond Comparison: Sex and Discrimination*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.
- Margueron, Daniel. *Tahiti dans toute sa littérature*. Paris: Harmattan, 1989.
- Masterson, Daniel M. *The Japanese in Latin America*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2004.
- Matsuda(-Tematafaarere), Lucie. Personal communication. 16 July 2016.
- Mehrez, Samia. "Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text." *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 1992. 120-38.
- Memmi, Albert. *Portrait du colonisé suivi de Portrait du colonisateur*. Paris: Payot, 1957.
- Mehrez, Samia. "Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text." Ed. Lawrence Venuti. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London: Routledge, 1992. 120-38.
- Michel, Marie-José. Personal communication. 12 July 2016.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke UP, 2011.
- Milbert, Jacques-Gérard. *Voyage pittoresque à l'île-de-France, au cap de Bonne-Espérance et à l'île de Ténériffe*. Paris: A. Nepvu, 1812.
- Miller, Christopher L. *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade*. Durham: Duke UP, 2008.
- Minami, Tomiko. *La construction de soi: L'identité ethnique des Canadiens-Japonais au Québec*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Université de Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle. 2006.
- Mizubayashi, Akira. *Une langue venue d'ailleurs*. Paris: Gallimard, 2011.
- Moï, Anna. *Espéranto, désespéranto: La francophonie sans les Français*. Paris: Gallimard, 2006.
- Mollat du Jourdain, Michel. "Les contacts historiques de l'Afrique et de Madagascar avec l'Asie du Sud et du Sud-Est: Le rôle de l'océan Indien." *Archipel* 21.1 (1981): 35-53.
- Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee. *Ganbari: Reclaiming Our Home*. Montreal: n.pub., 1998.

- Morioka(-Collobert), Adéline. Personal communication. 16 July 2016.
- Moudileno, Lydie. *Parades postcoloniales: La fabrication des identités dans le roman congolais*. Paris: Karthala, 2006.
- Nagata, Donna, and Jacqueline H.J. Kim. "Processing Cultural Trauma: Intergenerational Effects of the Japanese American Incarceration." *Journal of Social Issues* 71.2 (2015): 356-70.
- Nagata, Yuriko. *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia during World War II*. Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1996.
- . "La Guerre du Pacifique et les immigrés japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie – de l'emprisonnement à l'expulsion." *FEU NOS PÈRES*. Ed. Mutsumi Tsuda. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2006. 61-65.
- Nakamura, Sophie. Personal communication. 13 July 2016.
- Ngai, Sianne. *Ugly Feelings*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2005.
- Nicole, Robert. "Resisting Orientalism: Pacific Literature in French." *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson. Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 265-90.
- Norindr, Panivong. *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.
- Northrup, David. *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Odin, Steve. *The Social Self in Zen and American Pragmatism*. Albany: SUNY P, 1996.
- Olson, Sherry and Audrey Kobayashi. "The Emerging Ethnocultural Mosaic." *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*. Ed. Larry Bourne and David Ley. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1993.
- Ottino, Paul. *Madagascar, les Comores et Sud-Ouest de l'Océan Indien*. Antananarivo: Centre d'anthropologie culturelle et social, U de Madagascar, 1974.
- Paimbouc, Marie-Noëlle. Personal correspondence. 18 July 2016.
- Palombo, Philippe. "La présence japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Les relations économiques entre le Japon et la Nouvelle-Calédonie à travers l'immigration et l'industrie minière (1890-1960)." Ph.D. Diss. U de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2002.
- . "Immigration japonaise en Nouvelle-Calédonie et métissage." *La Nouvelle-Calédonie: Terre de métissages*. Vol. 1. Ed. Frédéric Angleviel. Paris: Les Indes Savantes & GRHOC, 2004. 91-101.

- ."Les Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Une intégration réussie." *FEU NOS PÈRES*. Ed. Mutsumi Tsuda. Kyoto: Seigensha, 2006. 26-28.
- Papin, Bernard. *Vie et mort de Ludovic Papin chez les Canaques*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997.
- Patel, Shenaz. *Paradis blues*. Paris: Vents d'ailleurs, 2014.
- Peters, Erica. "Defusing Pho: Soup Stories and Ethnic Erasures, 1919-2009." *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 14.2 (2010): 149-67.
- Peterson, Nancy. *Against Amnesia: Contemporary Women Writers and the Crises of Historical Memory*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001.
- Pluchon, Philippe. "Histoire d'une dynastie insulaire: les K/veguen avant de K/veguen." M.A. Thesis. U de la Réunion. 1984.
- Pomfret, David M. *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2016.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. "Notes on Gridlock: Genealogy, Intimacy, Sexuality." *Public Culture* 14.1 (2002): 215-38.
- ". *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality*. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.
- Prabhu, Anjali, and Ato Quayson. "Francophone Studies/Postcolonial Studies: 'Postcolonializing' through Relation." *Postcolonial Theory and Francophone Literary Studies*. Ed. H. Adlai Murdoch and Anne Donadey. Gainesville: U of Florida Press, 2005. 224-34.
- Prabju, Anjali. *Hybridity: Limits, Transformations, Prospects*. Albany: SU of New York P, 2007.
- Price, Patricia. *Dry Place: Landscapes of Belonging and Exclusion*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004.
- Price, Willard. *Japan's Island of Mystery*. London: Heinemann, 1945.
- Proust, Jacques, and Marianne Proust. *Le puissant royaume du Japon: La description de François Caron (1636)*. Paris: Chandeigne, 2003.
- Puar, Jasbir. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007.
- Pyrard de Laval, François. *Discours du voyage de François aux Indes Orientales*. Paris, n.pub., 1611.

- Ragon, Michel. *Ma sœur aux yeux d'Asie*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1982.
- Rahier, Jean Muteba. *Blackness in the Andes: Ethnographic Vignettes of Cultural Politics in the Time of Multiculturalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Richmond, Anthony. *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991*. London: Granta, 1991.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Salmon, Claudine. "Les marchands chinois en Asie du Sud-Est." *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'océan Indien et la Mer de Chine*. Ed. Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin. Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1988. 331-52.
- Sam-Long, Jean-François. *Poésie réunionnaise, 1900-1980*. Saint-Denis: NID, 1980.
- Saura, Bruno. "Tahiti (Polynésie française) est métisée, mais est-elle métisse?." *La Nouvelle Calédonie: Terre de métissage*. Ed. Frédéric Angleviel. Paris: Les Indes Savantes & GRHOC, 2004. 161-77.
- Scholz, Max. *As I Remember: The Loveday Internment Camps*. Ed. Miranda Roccisano. Barnera: Max Scholz, 2004.
- Schouppe, Maxime. "« L'arbre de violence », le nouveau roman de Jean-François Samlong: « Être une terre de métissage ouverte sur le monde »." *Le Quotidien* 11 June 1994: 10.
- Seifert, Charles C. *The Negro's or Ethiopian's Contribution to Art*. Baltimore: Black Classic P, 1938.
- Selao, Ching. "Écriture butô et altérité: Kimchi d'Ook Chung." *Asie du soi, Asie de l'autre: Récits et figures de l'altérité*. Ed. Janusz Przychodzen. Québec: les P de l'U Laval. 2009. 57-77.
- . *Orientalisme, occidentalisme et hybridité dans le roman vietnamien francophone*. Montréal: PU de Montréal, 2011.
- Serizawa, Satohiro. "Chinese Charity Organizations in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam: The Past and Present." *Voluntary Organizations in the Chinese Diaspora*. Ed. Khun Eng Kuah-Pearce and Evelyn Hu-Dehard. Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 99-120.
- Shineberg, Dorothy. *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865-1930*. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and U of Hawai'i P. 1999.
- Sieffert, René. *Le Japon et la France: Images d'une découverte*. Paris: Langues et Civilisations, 1974.

- Simon, Sherry. "Hybridity and Translation." *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer. Antwerp: Lessius UC, 2011. 49-53.
- Slawecki, Leon. *French Policy towards the Chinese in Madagascar*. Hamden: Shoestring, 1971.
- Sollors, Werner. "Introduction: The Invention of Ethnicity." *The Invention of Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford UP, 1989. ix-xx.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1973.
- Spear, Thomas. "Jimmy Ly: 5 Questions pour Île en île." *Entretien*. http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ile.en.ile/media/5questions_ly.html. 2009. 16 February 2013.
- Spitz, Chantal. *L'Île des rêves écrasés*. Tahiti: Au vent des îles, 2003.
- , "l'écriture colonisée". *Pensées insolentes et inutiles*. Papeete: Te Iti, 2006. 57-79.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Discussion: Subaltern Series: Deconstructing Historiography." *Subaltern Studies IV*. Ed. Ranjit Guha. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 1985. 330-63.
- Stam, Robert. *Tropical Multiculturalism: A Comparative History of Race in Brazilian Cinema and Culture*. Durham: Duke UP, 1997.
- Stanlaw, James. "Japan: Immigration In, Out, and Back and Forth." *Migration and Immigration: A Global View*. Ed. Maura Toro-Morn and Marixsa Alicea. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004. 111-28.
- Stewart, Kathleen. *Ordinary Affects*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007.
- Stoler, Ann. "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia." *Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*. Ed. Avtar Brah and Annie Coombes. New York: Routledge, 2000. 19-55.
- Sun, Wanning. *Leaving China: Media, Migration, and Transnational Imagination*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- The Round Table: A Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Empire*. Vol. 1. London: Macmillan, 1910-1911.
- Thing-Léoh, Jean-Claude. *La veste, suivi de, Bilimbi*. Saint-Denis: UDR, 1979.
- Thompson, Virginia, and Richard Adloff. *The Malagasy Republic: Madagascar Today*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1965.

- Tiéval, Valentine. Personal communication. 17 July 2016.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. "L'enseignement des littératures européennes: Actes du colloque organisé le 11 décembre 2007 au Palais du Luxembourg." *Les Rapports du Senat*. No. 221. Ed. Jacques Legendre. Paris: 2007-2008, 14.
- Torabully, Khal. *Cale d'étoiles, coolitude*. Réunion: Éditions Azalées, 1992.
- . *Chair corail, fragments coolies*. Guadeloupe: Ibis Rouge, 1999.
- Torabully, Khal, and Marina Carter. *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*. London: Anthem P, 2002.
- Toussaint, Auguste. *Histoire des îles Mascareignes*. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1972.
- Train, A.K. United States Naval Liaison Officer. Archived File "White Poppy." 24 December 1942. 1-4.
- Tsang Mang Kin, Joseph. "Hakka Destiny. Challenge and Response." Toronto Hakka Conference: Tradition, Change, Unity. 30 December 2004. York U.
- Tsuda, Mutsumi. *Feu Nos Pères - Les émigrants Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Nouméa: ADCK, 2006.
- . *Feu Nos Pères - Les émigrants Japonais en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Rapport d'activités (2003-2008.)*. Comité du Projet Feu Nos Pères. Nouméa: n.pub., 2008.
- . マブイの往来 ニューカレドニア 日本 引き裂かれた家族と戦争の記憶. Kyoto: Jinbunshoin, 2009.
- . *Âmes errantes: Le destin brisé des émigrants d'Okinawa en Nouvelle-Calédonie*. Trans. Yuu Tsuchiya Desvals. Nouméa: Madrépores, 2012.
- . Personal communication. 23 July 2016.
- Tsuyi, Hsiao. *Feizhou Huaqiaojinji*. Taipei: Haiwai Chuban She 1956.
- Van Rossum, Matthias. *Kleurrijke Tragiek: De Geschiedenis van Slavernij Onder de VOC*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2015.
- Vanmai, Jean. *Chân Dàng*. Nouméa: P de la société d'études historiques, 1980.
- Vergès, Françoise. *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and Métissage*. Durham: Duke UP, 1999.
- . "Writing on Water: Peripheries, Flows, Capital and Struggles in the Indian Ocean." *Positions* 11.1 (2003): 241-57.

- . "The Island of Wandering Souls." *Islands in History and Representation*. Ed. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith. London: Routledge, 2003. 162-76.
- . "Indian-Oceanic Creolizations: Processes and Practices of Creolization on Reunion Island." *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*. Ed. Charles Stewart. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast P, 2007. 133-52.
- Vernier, Élie, and Jacques Millot. *Archéologie malgache, comptoirs musulmans*. Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 1971.
- Vison, Auguste. *Salazie; ou, Le Piton d'Anchaing*. Paris: Delagrave, 1888.
- Watson, Mark. "Indigenous Food and Foodways." *Food and Foodways in Asia: Resource, Tradition, and Cooking*. Ed. Sidney C.H. Cheung and Tan Chee-Beng. London: Routledge, 2007. 129-42.
- Weine, Stevan. "The Witnessing Imagination: Social Trauma, Creative Artists, and Witnessing Professionals." *Literature and Medicine* 15.2 (1996): 167-82.
- Wilder, Gary. *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World*. Durham: Duke UP, 2015.
- Williams-León, Teresa. "The Convergence of Passing Zones: Multiracial Gays, Lesbians, and Bisexuals of Asian Descent." *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*. Ed. Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001. 145-62.
- Wu, Dana Ying-Hui, and Jeffrey Dao-Sheng Tung. *Coming to America: The Chinese-American Experience*. Brookfield: Millbrook P, 1993.
- Yang, Ziyang. "Le fardeau de la légèreté: Une étude de *Kimchi* d'Ook Chung." *Nouvelles perspectives en sciences sociales* 8.2 (2013): 85-100.
- Yeager, Jack A. *The Vietnamese Novel in English: A Literary Response to Colonialism*. Hanover: UP of New England, 1987.
- . "Bach Mai's Francophone Eurasian Voice: Remapping Margin and Center." *Québec Studies* 14 (1992): 14-64.
- . "La politique « intimiste »: La production romanesque des écrivaines vietnamiennes d'expression française." *Présence francophone* 43 (1993): 131-47.

Yee, Paul. *Struggle and Hope: The Story of Chinese Canadians*. Toronto: Umbrella P, 1996.

Yokoyama(-Redon), Janette. Personal communication. 16 July 2016.

Zischka, Antoine. *Le Japon dans le monde: L'Expansion nippone (1854-1934)*. Paris: Payot, 1934.